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COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW

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COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW

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Housing Design Amid Urban Sprawl

L'habitation et le désordre de l'expansion urbaine

The last decade gave us shelter. Will the next give us design for living?

Well over one million homes have been built in Canada since 1945. Of these homes about 75% can reasonably be called low or moderate cost. These are the homes of the greater proportion of Canadians. They have been built with private, corporate, provincial and federal funds used either singly or in an array of permutations. They have been

La dernière décennie nous a fourni des abris. La prochaine nous procura-t-elle une vie meilleure?

Depuis 1945, plus d'un million de logements ont été construits au Canada. On peut affirmer assez justement qu'environ 75% de ces logements sont à prix modiques. Ils ont été construits à l'aide de fonds provenant de particuliers, de corporations, d'organismes provinciaux et fédéraux. Les plans de ces habitations ont été tracés par des dessinateurs



designed—where they have not grown out of impulse and whimsy—by both private and public designers.

On these three pages we illustrate a representative selection of a million homes—homes of all types and of varying qualities. These are not the best moderate cost homes; neither are they the worst shacks from some city periphery. They are representative homes, typical of Canada from the eastern rocks of Newfoundland to the forested shores of Vancouver Island. So typical are they that over a distance of 4,000 miles no local vernacular can be recognized. Indeed the

à l'emploi de l'entreprise privée ou publique, s'ils n'ont pas été le résultat du hasard.

Nous reproduisons dans ces trois pages quelques modèles représentatifs choisis parmi un million de maisons. Ces logements ne sont pas les meilleurs que l'on puisse trouver à prix modiques; ils ne représentent pas non plus les pires cabanes situées à la périphérie de nos villes. Ils sont typiques des logements qui existent au Canada depuis les côtes rocheuses de Terre-Neuve jusqu'aux rives boisées de l'Île de Vancouver. Ils sont tellement typiques que sur une distance de 4,000 milles il est impossible d'y reconnaître aucun trait



complete lack of local expression is one of the great defects in the first million home building program.

Here we see subdivisions, street groupings and individual designs. The average is surely not good enough. The twentieth century can do better than this. Canada is booming. Canada will be a nation of 27,000,000 people in 1980. Canada will need another million homes, and another million and yet another. We must see to it that designers are encouraged and supported. We must strive to express the *genius loci*. We must experiment and build boldly. We must create a designed, planned and urbane Canada in the next twenty-five years or we shall be lost amid a terrifying monotony, to the detriment of the national well-being.

caractéristique local. En effet, l'absence totale d'individualité a été une des grandes défauts dans le premier programme d'un million de maisons.

On trouve ici et là des subdivisions, des réseaux de rues et des habitations variées. En moyenne, le résultat n'est certes pas suffisamment bon. Nous pouvons sûrement faire mieux au XX siècle. Le Canada est en pleine prospérité. En 1980 le Canada aura certainement besoin de plusieurs autres millions d'habitations. Il nous est donc nécessaire d'encourager les dessinateurs dans leur tâche. Nous devons nous efforcer de faire ressortir le génie local. Nous devons expérimenter audacieusement. Au cours des prochains vingt-cinq ans, nous devons doter le Canada de créations bien planifiées, si nous voulons éviter de nous sentir perdus au milieu d'une terrible monotonie, au détriment du bien-être national.

ONTARIO PLANNING AND URBAN GROWTH

by T. A. C. Tyrrell

The word "explosive" describes Ontario's urban growth in the past decade. It describes the unprecedented increases in urban population and the outward spread of that population over old boundaries. It describes the spectacular increases in the mobility — or "automobility" — of the urban population and in its demands for living space and facilities of all kinds. And it suggests some of the possible results of the intensified competition for the use of land and other resources that may be expected in our economy during such a period.

How does the Province view the fact that 75% of the people of Ontario now live in an urban environment in centres of 1,000 population or over — that the march to the cities is accelerating, and that its population increased by 200,000 between June, 1955 and June, 1956?

In other words, what are the facts of urban growth? And to what extent have the legislative provisions for planning been utilized to deal with this growth?

The growth has been explosive — in terms of the rate of population increase, in the outward spread of population from the older urban cores, in the increased mobility of the population, in the rate of development of new areas for residential, commercial, industrial and other uses, and in the actual establishment of complete, new urban centres in previously unpopulated territory.

Although census information on urban-rural population distribution in past decades is not available in a form permitting accurate comparison with current statistics, the trend towards urbanization is firmly established, and has been far more pronounced in Ontario than in

the rest of Canada. According to the Provincial submission to the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, prepared by the Ontario Department of Economics, Canada as a whole was reaching the stage of urbanization in 1951 that Ontario had attained by 1931.

On the basis of population projections contained in the report, Ontario's population will have increased by approximately 3 million, or 60 per cent, by 1975 over the 1955 figure of 5¼ million. This is more than twice the number added in the 20 years between 1931 to 1951, and is almost as much as the increase in the population of all of Canada during the same period. There is every reason to believe that the march to the cities and demand for the amenities of urban living will continue, and even accelerate, during this period.

Ontario's rapid population growth stems from two main forces — immigration and natural increase. Immigration to Ontario from foreign countries has been at an extraordinarily high level since 1946. In the last ten years approximately 700,000 immigrants have been attracted to Ontario, bringing their skills and knowledge. This figure is over half of all those coming to Canada. The other influential factor, in combination with the fall in mortality rates since 1900, has been the rise in the birth rate during the past 16 years, from 17 per thousand to 27 in 1955 — one of the highest in Ontario's statistical history. In short, the Province's high living standard, created by its industrial development, has attracted immigrants and raised the birth rate.

The increasing "automobility" of our population also has very obvious effects on, and implications for, urban growth. It is interesting to compare the rate at which the people of this Province are increasing with the rate at which they are acquiring automobiles. Comparison of motor vehicle registrations with population statistics indicates that in 1945 there was one passenger car for every seven persons in the Province. By 1955, this ratio had changed to one car for every four persons. While Provincial population was increasing at an average rate of about 120,000 a year, the number of automobiles was increasing at a rate of over 73,000 a year. In other words, for every four additional persons, Ontario was adding three passenger cars.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of urban growth in Ontario is the unprecedented rate and extent of land

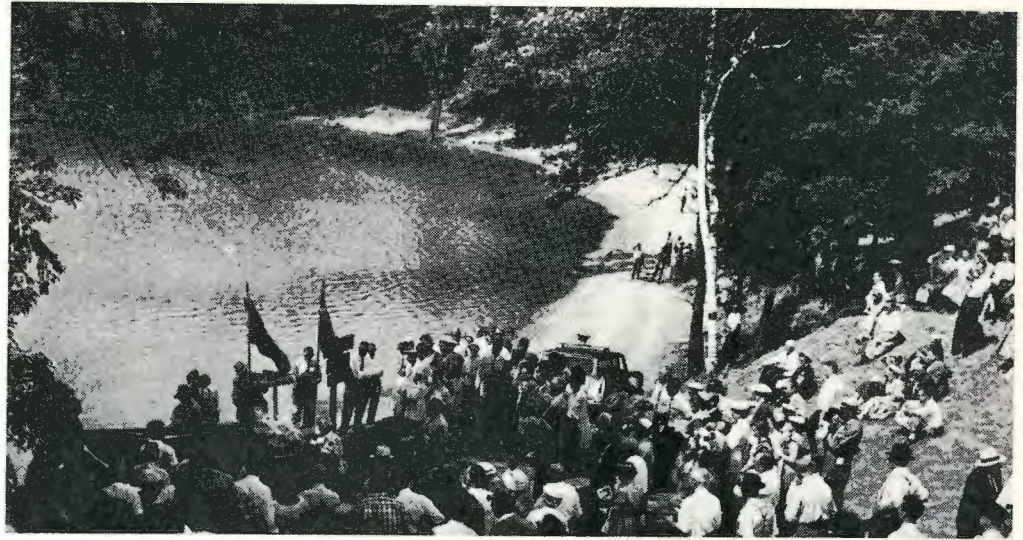
The Author

Mr. T. A. C. Tyrrell is Deputy Minister of the Ontario Department of Planning and Development. Prior to his appointment in October, 1956, he was a senior planner in the Community Planning Branch of the Department, where he had served since 1945.

His article is based on material presented by him to the Senior Staff Course of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation in April of this year, and was prepared with the assistance of Miss Sheila Irwin, Public Relations Officer in the Department.

The opening ceremonies of the Heart Lake Conservation Area, established by the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority for recreation purposes, five miles from Brampton.

Photo: Gilbert A. Milne & Co.



development to provide living space and other facilities for the increasing urban population. Each new family added to the population, now or in the future, could mean that a new house will have to be built. More money and people have meant the construction of 327,413 housing units in Ontario since 1948. Since the introduction of the Planning Act in 1946, with its provisions for subdivision control by municipalities, and approval of plans by the Minister of Planning and Development, the bulk of new marketable building lots has been contained in registered plans of subdivision. Figures for 1956, based on plans approved for registration, show that 9,600 acres of land — an area roughly the size of the City of Windsor — was subdivided in urban areas of the Province during the year.

Contained in these plans were some 31,000 lots intended for single family residential purposes alone, all serviced by municipal water and sewage disposal systems, according to information received from municipal and planning board offices. Plans in suburban areas, serviceable with municipal water only, together with plans in unserviced rural areas, accounted for an additional 6,000 acres and another 12,000 single family residential lots. Statistics presently maintained by the Community Planning Branch, as to acreages subdivided and proposed land use, date back only to 1954. On the basis of final plans approved for registration, 1956 appears to have been a record year for subdivision activity in the Province; the total urban, suburban and rural acreage subdivided being about 12 per cent higher, and the number of single family residential lots 23 per cent higher than in 1955, which, in turn, exceeded 1954. Acreage and lots contained in plans in unserviced areas and areas serviceable with municipal water only accounted for appreciably less total acreage and number of lots in 1956 than in 1955, owing to the substantial 1956 increase in fully serviced, or urban, acreage and lots.

Despite the fact that 1956 was a peak year for subdividing, on the basis of the content of plans approved in final form for registration, indications of some decline in subdivision activity, reflecting the increasing difficulty in obtaining mortgages for new residential construction, began to be evidenced during the latter part of 1956. The number of new applications for approval of draft plans received by the Community Planning Branch in the second half of the year fell off sharply, with a drop of 35 per cent in the final quarter of 1956 compared to the previous year. This decline has continued into 1957, with a similar drop in the number of new draft applications during the first quarter of 1957, compared with 1956.

As the Branch maintains detailed statistical information as to acreages and lots in the case of final plans only, it is not possible to describe the reduction in new draft plans in terms of lots and acreages. It is to be expected, however, that this drop will be reflected during 1957 in the acreage and number of lots contained in final plans approved for registration.

No account of urban growth — no matter how summary — which dealt solely with new outward expansion would be complete in itself. Yet the most cursory inspection of many of our older central areas reveals all too clearly where the emphasis has lain during the post-war years. It would not seem to be stretching the “explosive” metaphor too far to suggest that the aftermath of the “explosion” is to be found in just such areas. Actual reconstruction of parts of these areas, piece by piece and building by building, is, of course, taking place every day in many cities and towns. There are all too few instances, however, where “redevelopment” has amounted to more than this.

LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND

A rough outline of the legislative context within which provincial and municipal governments' function, is essential to an understanding of the role of provincial departments in coping with what is truly a revolutionary development. For, as people grappling with the challenge are reminded daily, this is the context within which governmental activities bearing on urban growth — such as community planning, highway building and public housing — are carried on; not only in Ontario, but also to a considerable extent, in the rest of Canada.

Municipalities derive the right to influence their physical development from provincial statutes. These statutes are, in turn, based upon the powers delegated to the provinces by the British North America Act.

To provide for local self-government, municipal units were created by the provinces and granted specific powers and duties concerning the health, safety, convenience and general well-being of their inhabitants. As corporations, municipalities are responsible for the civil and property rights of their citizens; they are empowered to regulate the use of land and buildings and, generally, to construct town halls, schools, libraries and similar community buildings; to develop parks, to install water and sewer systems, and to build roads. They may operate systems for fire and police protection, public transit and other such facilities. Revenue to pay for these services is derived chiefly from taxes on real estate. Bonds may be issued for capital expenditures, and, in many cases, grants are available from higher levels of government.

The provincial legislature has the right to add to, qualify, or reduce the powers and responsibilities of municipalities. It may also compel the exercise of a number of functions by municipalities. In practice, this is done primarily in the case of matters of wide concern, requiring the maintenance of specific standards in administration, and financed jointly by provincial and municipal authority — such as education, social welfare and the administration of justice.

ONTARIO PLANNING LEGISLATION

The Department of Planning and Development, in Ontario, is responsible for the administration of the provincial Planning Act, as well as legislation in allied fields dealing with various aspects of urban growth. The *Department of Planning and Development Act* of 1944, in addition to creating the Department and outlining its administrative functions, provides generally for the Minister to collaborate with governmental and private agencies "with a view to formulating plans to create, assist, develop and maintain productive employment and to develop the human and material resources of the Province".

In recognition of the need for guidance, from provincial level, to municipalities in solving the myriad

problems resulting from the "explosion" of urban growth, the Department of Planning and Development is organized into five main branches. In addition to the Community Planning Branch, and complementary to it, are those administering the equally important fields of public housing, conservation, trade and industry and civil defence. The activities of all these Branches are directed, to a greater or lesser degree, towards dealing with the ramifications of urban growth, and close cooperation is exercised by all with such agencies as the Water Resources Commission and Department of Highways, to mention only two. Ultimately, however, it is the planners who are charged with the responsibility of integrating and co-ordinating development in the many and various facets of an urban way of life. Therefore, in regard to basic planning for the very evident and continuing expansion of urban centres in Ontario, the Community Planning Branch and its administration of the Planning Act are of primary concern.

Most Canadian provinces have planning acts, administered by provincial departments, which enable municipalities, if they so desire, to adopt and carry out planning programmes, using both their original basic powers and those additional specific "tools" and procedures provided by the planning legislation. Community planning is, thus, in Canada, largely a permissive function of local government, under the legislative authority of the provinces. The permissive nature of the planning statutes cannot be stressed too strongly, as it places the onus for actually devising and implementing plans to guide community development on the municipalities.

It is worth noting one significant respect in which Ontario's planning legislation, introduced in 1946, is unique in Canada: the fact that it is administered by a separate branch of government specifically charged with this responsibility. In other provinces, the administration of planning legislation is the job of Departments such as Municipal Affairs, Labour, or Industry and Natural Resources. The Community Planning Branch in Ontario now has a staff of 56 persons in all, of whom 26 are technically trained as planners and have some background of experience in what is, in Canada, a relatively new field.

An understanding of the main provisions of the Planning Act and the policies underlying them is basic to an appreciation of official planning in Ontario. Fundamental to the overall picture is the fact that, with permissive legislation, no municipality is required or forced to plan. But any municipality, or group of municipalities comprising an appropriate planning unit, may organize for planning purposes. Once the decision to inaugurate a planning programme has been made at the local level, and the area designated by the Minister, the next step is the appointment, by municipal council, of a Planning Board. The Board is advisory to the council, which retains its authority and responsibility for the

final determination of policy. As outlined in the Act, the main duties of the Planning Board are to carry out studies of the physical, social and economic conditions and trends affecting the planning area, hold public meetings and, in consultation and cooperation with local boards and agencies, to make recommendations for future development. These recommendations are then incorporated in an overall development plan which in Ontario legislation is termed an "Official Plan". When adopted by the council, and approved by the Minister of Planning and Development, this Official Plan becomes the legally binding pattern for development in the area.

It is important to distinguish between the process of planning and that of implementing or carrying out the plans. The powers to implement plans are largely available to municipalities through legislation other than the Planning Act. The power to regulate the use of land and buildings, for example, through zoning by-laws, is a long standing right of municipalities conferred, not by the Planning Act, but by the Municipal Act. Zoning is, however, viewed as a major and essential tool in the implementing of Official Plans, and the Planning Act provides that where an official plan is in effect, zoning must be in conformity with it.

An Official Plan is also a prerequisite for any municipality in Ontario wishing to designate an area for redevelopment — a vital aspect of urban growth and one of increasing significance at the present time. The need for treating redevelopment as an integral part of the community's planning programme is reinforced by the Planning Act provision that no redevelopment plan is to be approved by the Ontario Municipal Board unless it conforms with the Official Plan. In addition, redevelopment is one of the few planning measures which may be implemented under the authority of the Planning Act. Subject to the approval of the Minister, a municipality may designate an area for redevelopment and, for the purpose of carrying out the redevelopment plan, make use of certain specified powers not available under other forms of legislation.

Another provision of the Planning Act, of considerable importance in relation to the urban growth of recent years, concerns the subdivision of land. The Act enables municipalities to exercise a measure of control over new land development by requiring the registration of plans of subdivision in most cases where building lots are to be created. Such plans are approved by the Minister, in consultation with municipal and other public authorities.

These then, in outline, are the main provisions of Ontario's planning legislation. The onus is on the municipalities and citizens to initiate their programmes for controlling future development and preserving human values in the face of the surging tide of twentieth century mechanization and growth.

IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL POLICY

In our modern society, with its insatiable demand for material goods, industrial development has been

fundamentally responsible for attracting people to existing urban centres in sufficient numbers to "burst their seams", and initiating the carving of new townsites literally from the wilderness. Hence, in any consideration of the relationship between provincial activities and urban growth, it is impossible to ignore government policy with respect to industry, and the effect new plants and factories have on community development.

Ontario wants and expects increased population. The government is fully cognizant of its responsibility for providing employment for these people, and for helping to produce the greatest possible efficiency in Ontario's industries in the interests of the Canadian economy as a whole. Accounting, as she does, for more than half of Canada's total manufacturing output, the future development of the Province is of primary importance to all Canadians.

The Ontario Government follows a policy of creating an attractive climate for manufacturing industry, and of encouraging industry directly. These aims are specifically stated in the policy outline of the *Department of Planning and Development Act*. This, in turn, led to the establishment, within the Department, of the Trade and Industry Branch, which has as its objective the promotion of the economic growth of the Province through encouraging industrial development.

This policy of creating a conducive climate for industry begins with the provision of such facilities as efficient power, transportation, and adequate water supply, and culminates in the skill with which the expansion of our urban centres is guided and the adequacy with which the basic facilities of community living are provided. Poor services waste time in moving men and goods, raise costs, and handicap our manufacturers in competing with the challenging industrial producers of the United States.

The Trade and Industry Branch is concerned with finding prospective new industries for Ontario, and bringing in immigrants with particular skills as required. Import statistics and provincial resources are analyzed to determine what further products can be manufactured in the Province. On the basis of this information, the Branch's Industrial Commissioners and Consultants in Toronto, Chicago, New York and London, England, approach industries located elsewhere in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom and Europe to encourage them to establish branch plants in Ontario. The Branch also aids existing industry to expand, particularly in respect to new location and the development of new products.

In accordance with Government policy, in 1953 the Trade and Industry Branch introduced its Regional Economic Development Programme to provide a broad and co-ordinated working plan for guiding future economic development. This programme called for the establishment of Economic Development Associations

in nine regions of the Province. Since its inception, seven such Associations have been formed. As well, the Branch encourages Ontario municipalities to develop community programmes to further industrial expansion.

Many new firms have been attracted to Ontario by its expanding opportunities, abundant supply of needed resource materials, and by the very definite provincial policy of industrial stimulation.

The impact of this industrial development on the provincial economy has had wide-spread implications for urban growth. The establishment of new manufacturing industries and the expansion of existing ones during the years 1949-1956 have been paralleled by the employment of an additional 100,000 people, and a rise from the \$1.2 billion earned in salaries and wages in 1948 to the over \$2.1 billion earned in 1955. This has meant more money for growing urban markets, more money for better community services, and steady employment for populations in urban centres.

In addition to the job opportunities provided by new industry, good wages and the current trend to automation have produced a high living standard, which has strongly attracted people to Ontario, and hence to her cities. Thus, the Province's deliberate policy of encouraging industrial development has, in its entirety, provided a tremendous impetus to the growth of our communities.

It has also accentuated the grave necessity for the wisely planned designation of land uses in order to preserve good agricultural areas from indiscriminate encroachment by industry and the inevitable accompanying community development.

PLANNING ACTIVITY

How have Ontario communities risen to this challenge and availed themselves of the powers to control and guide the "explosion", bestowed upon them by the provisions of the Planning Act? Figures are of some assistance in describing the extent to which active planning programmes have been initiated.

By the end of 1956, there were 248 planning areas in existence in the Province. These areas range in size from that of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area—which extends over some 750 square miles and includes 26 municipalities with a total population of a million and a half—to small, independent planning areas comprising a single town or village. It is estimated that approximately 80% of the Province's population live within areas organized for planning. Of these 248 planning areas, 43 are joint areas, including, in whole or in part, a total of 167 municipalities.

The experience of local planning boards—both single independent and joint—points up increasingly the difficulties in attempting to plan for small, arbitrarily defined sections without sufficient knowledge of the larger regions of which they form a part.

These difficulties are being met at the local level in many cases through the activity of joint boards, representing areas approximating in size the true community. At the provincial level, it is hoped that it will be possible for the Community Planning Branch to undertake detailed research studies of key growth regions, in order to provide assistance and encouragement for area planning. Such a study is at present nearing completion for an area in the southeastern portion of the Province adjacent to the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. It is expected that the data compiled will be of considerable help to the communities of this part of the Province in planning their future development, and to the Branch in carrying out its administrative functions, such as the designation of new planning areas, and the approval of Official Plans and plans of subdivision.

Returning again to planning organization and activity in the Province as a whole . . . In regard to Official Plans, there were a total of 69 in effect by the end of 1956. The content of these plans varies considerably—not only as a result of the differing local situations represented, but also in regard to the comprehensiveness of the planning programmes projected. Some are undoubtedly more soundly based and far-sighted, affording a more realistic guide to community development, than others. None the less, each represents a significant investment in the future of a community, by that community.

As mentioned in connection with legislation, zoning by-laws are passed by municipalities pursuant to the Municipal Act, rather than the Planning Act. However, zoning has a vital relationship to planning as an implementing tool, and the Community Planning Branch regularly reviews and comments on a large number of by-laws submitted to the Ontario Municipal Board for approval, concerning their conformity with Official Plans. During 1956, 759 by-laws were reviewed by the Branch.

The volume of subdivision activity in the Province during recent years has been cited previously as an indication of urban growth. By the end of 1956, areas of subdivision control had been established in a total of 217 municipalities throughout the Province, including most of its larger and growing population centres. From a planning viewpoint, subdivision control is considered as an elementary, but often very necessary, first step towards planning. It is, however, simply a legal step requiring persons wishing to subdivide land to do so by registered plan, subject to Ministerial approval. Its effectiveness obviously depends considerably on the extent to which the community is organized to plan and programme its development.

Redevelopment activity, under a recent amendment to the Planning Act, has taken place in Metropolitan Toronto and the City of Sarnia. Other communities are currently carrying out studies prior to the official



Photo: Smith's, Morrisburg

PARK AREA ON THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER. *Model of park area three miles east of Morrisburg, being developed by the Ontario St. Lawrence Development Commission in recognition of the need for cultural and aesthetic development to move hand in hand with dynamic industrial and economic progress. A memorial section, commemorating the Battle of Chrysler's Farm in 1813, is shown at left centre adjacent to Upper Canada Village (right), in which representative pioneer buildings will be re-located and preserved as a part of the new historic parks system planned by the Commission for the Ontario shore of the St. Lawrence River.*

designation of specific redevelopment areas. These include the cities of Kingston, Windsor and Hamilton and the towns of Trenton and Midland.

The Department has taken the position that redevelopment, or the clearance and re-use of areas, should be planned as part of an overall urban renewal programme that includes, in addition to actual redevelopment, measures to maintain sound areas and improve others. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" cannot be applied too strongly if the spread of slum blight is to be checked. Urban renewal, in its broadest sense, is seen as an integral part of the overall community plan and the planning process. Because of the intimate relationship between redevelopment, renewal and planning, the Community Planning Branch is prepared to give special assistance in the form of information and guidance to any municipality interested in urban renewal—either as a total programme, or in any of the three equally important aspects of conservation, rehabilitation or reconstruction.

To emphasise the importance of overall planning in identifying areas in which redevelopment is the most intelligent approach, a community is asked to supply certain detailed information to accompany a request to the Minister for designation of a redevelopment area. Briefly these requirements are:—

- (1) Planning Studies: adoption and approval of an Official Plan.
- (2) Identification of areas requiring redevelopment.

- (3) Preliminary discussions with interested agencies.
- (4) Detailed studies of selected area or areas.

OTHER PLANNING ACTIVITIES RELATING TO URBAN GROWTH

In addition to administering the Planning Act, the Department of Planning and Development—through the Community Planning Branch—carries on various other activities, both of a liaison and special projects character, closely bearing on urban growth.

Consultations between staff of the various sections of the Branch and municipal officials are carried on day to day and every day, and staff members are available to visit local planning boards to discuss with them specific problems encountered in their work. A visiting field liaison service is maintained, and the Branch has taken an active part in organizing a number of one and two-day planning "workshop" conferences in various parts of the Province.

Through the Community Planning Branch, the Department works closely with a number of other Departments and agencies of the Provincial Government, both in regard to administration and particular projects. During recent years, the Branch has acted in a liaison capacity with the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario in planning for the removal and re-location in new communities of some 6,500 persons directly affected by flooding in connection with the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. The Branch is also co-operating with the Ontario St. Lawrence Development



MODEL OF TOWN CENTRE, ELLIOT LAKE. *The town centre has been designed in three distinct stages, each served with its own car parking facilities and with special consideration for pedestrian movement.*

The centre will provide all types of stores, banks, offices and theatres, with special sites set aside for hotel and automotive uses.

It is proposed to locate the municipal offices in a unique setting astride the inner road loop linking the pedestrian shopping square with the informal hill-top park.

Almost all the land has been sold to private developers and about 30 buildings are under construction. Services, roads and car parks are nearing completion in the northern half of the area. It is hoped to complete the whole municipal works program for the central area by the end of 1957.

Commission, established by the Provincial Government in 1955 to develop a chain of parks in the Seaway area and generally assist municipalities and residents of the area with the rehabilitation and expansion programmes.

A major task undertaken by the Community Planning

Branch in recent years, under direction of the Provincial cabinet and administrative sub-committees, has been the planning of new towns associated with primary industrial development in northern Ontario. The creation of these new towns to serve the striking growth of northern Ontario is a considerable and fascinating subject in itself, to which justice cannot be done in the space of a few lines. The planning and construction of these new urban centres has presented a challenging range of problems—physical, economic and social—differing radically in many ways from those normally encountered in the southern part of the Province. At the present time, the Branch is actively concerned with town-sites at Manitouwadge near the base mining developments in the Thunder Bay district north of Marathon; at Elliot Lake, which has been designed as the urban centre of one of the world's largest uranium mining regions; and at Cardiff, near the Bancroft group of uranium mines. It is estimated that the combined population of these three northern townsites will be in the neighbourhood of 40,000 in the not too distant future. The building of these cities of the north is truly a pioneering effort, bringing to the fore all the imaginative planning and engineering skills of experienced professionals.

Another facet of urbanization with which growing municipalities and adjacent rural areas must perforce be concerned is the conservation of natural resources and amenities. Such problems as the preservation of water supplies, flood dangers in river flats, and the retention of open space for recreational facilities, are of prime importance to any municipality. Providing assistance in this field is the Conservation Branch of the Department, which administers the *Conservation Authorities Act* of 1946. Under the provisions of the Act, river valley Conservation Authorities may be established through which municipalities can and do obtain substantial grants from the Province and, in certain cases, from the federal government, toward schemes designed to resolve conservation problems. To date there are 18 Authorities functioning, which embrace a total of 287 municipalities.

AIR VIEW OF ELLIOT LAKE (opposite). *Planned to accommodate a potential population of over 20,000, Elliot Lake is the largest of three new mining townsites designed since 1954 by the Community Planning Branch. The aerial photo shows three residential neighbourhoods in various stages of development. In the foreground is Neighbourhood One, now almost completely constructed. Behind it are emerging outlines of Neighbourhoods Two and Three. At the extreme middle left is a portion of the central commercial area, where most of the land has been sold to private developers and some 30 buildings are under construction. About 500 houses have been built within the townsite, and a further 1,000 homes will be completed this year, including apartments and row houses.*



Photographic Survey Corporation Limited

PUBLIC PLANNING AND URBAN GROWTH

Not to be ignored in a consideration of planning aspects of urban growth is the increasing demand for public housing. Present activity in this field at the provincial level is dealt with by the Housing Branch of the Department of Planning and Development, which is responsible for the administration of the *Ontario Housing Development Act* passed in 1948. The Act provides that the government may make grants in aid of any building development; assist in financing residential building developments; and join with the federal government in undertaking, at the request of a municipality, joint federal-provincial housing projects, which can be in the form of land assembly, rental housing, a combination of the two, or redevelopment. The Branch is also responsible for advising the Minister of Planning and Development on current housing needs and trends as they affect the Province.

Under the federal-provincial partnership agreement, housing projects undertaken jointly by the two levels of government are financed 75% by the federal agency, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and 25% by the provincial government through the Housing Branch. In general, the province is responsible for negotiating such projects with the municipalities and arranging for the necessary municipal services.

A land assembly project, undertaken by the partners at the request of a municipality, provides for the assembly and servicing of land to be sold to private individuals or speculative builders for the construction of houses for ownership or for sale. The advantage of the land assembly project, in addition to its making available serviced land where the municipality or private operators are not able to provide it, is that lots can be sold at prices within the

reach of people in the lower income brackets who normally find it difficult to buy or build new homes because of the cost involved in the purchase of land.

In a publicly-financed federal-provincial rental housing project, land is acquired, subdivided, serviced, and houses constructed for rent to families in need of housing and within certain income limits. The projects may be either subsidized, or full-recovery, in which latter case the municipality contributes 7½% while the provincial share of the cost is reduced to 17½%.

Where a redevelopment programme is being carried out, whether financed privately or with public funds, the municipality may request the partnership to initiate a rental housing project to provide homes for people dislocated by the redevelopment scheme who require rehousing. As in the case of the Community Planning Branch providing technical advice to Planning Boards, the Housing Branch is available at all times to advise municipalities and other agencies with regard to redevelopment, co-operative building societies, senior citizens projects, and so on.

CONCLUSION

In the final analysis, the citizen, through his elected municipal representatives, is responsible for providing the spark and driving force for intelligent control of the explosive urban growth which is affecting the lives of each and every one of us in Ontario.

The present Minister of Planning and Development, the Hon. W. M. Nickle, Q.C., emphatically reiterated the policy of his Department as a whole in the Legislative Assembly in March of this year, with the statement that trained members of his staff are prepared at all times to discuss and render assistance in every aspect of the Departments' responsibilities, at the request of municipal authorities and agencies.

Urbanisme et croissance urbaine en Ontario

Un sommaire de l'article de M. Tyrrell

M. Tyrrell, faisant mention de "l'explosion" survenue dans la croissance urbaine au cours de la dernière décennie, décrit les problèmes d'urbanisme qui surgissent de l'accroissement continu du nombre des véhicules et de la subdivision des propriétés foncières. En l'année 1956, 9600 acres de terrain—une superficie à peu près équivalente à celle de la Ville de Windsor—ont été subdivisés comme zones urbaines dans la Province d'Ontario.

La législation de l'urbanisme en Ontario est unique du fait que sa mise en application relève d'un organisme créé à cette fin, soit le Ministère de l'Urbanisme et du Développement. Le Ministre est autorisé par la loi à collaborer avec des organismes gouvernementaux et privés "en vue de formuler des plans, de créer, d'assister, de développer et

de maintenir l'emploi productif et de développer les ressources humaines et matérielles de la Province".

Ce Ministère comprend cinq offices principaux. En plus de l'office de l'urbanisme, il comporte les offices complémentaires également importants de l'habitation publique, de la conservation des richesses naturelles, du commerce et de l'industrie et de la défense civile. Tous ces offices travaillent en étroite collaboration avec des organismes tels que la Commission des Ressources hydrauliques et le Ministère de la Voirie.

L'Office de l'urbanisme comprend un personnel de 56 personnes dont 26 urbanistes qualifiés.

Une caractéristique fondamentale de la législation urbaine est de laisser la municipalité libre de planifier son terri-



Photo: Star Newspaper Service

ROXBOROUGH PARK, HAMILTON. A full recovery rental housing development completed in 1953. Hamilton was one of the first cities in Ontario to take advantage of the current Federal-Provincial financial agreements for rental housing schemes, and has for a number of years had the largest single project, containing 496 units.

toire. C'est en effet une législation facultative laissant à la municipalité la responsabilité de créer et de mettre en vigueur des plans d'aménagement urbain. N'importe quelle municipalité ou n'importe quel groupe de municipalités comportant une unité d'urbanisme appropriée, peut se mettre en mesure de planifier. Lorsque le territoire a été désigné par le Ministre, il s'agit ensuite pour le Conseil municipal de nommer une commission d'urbanisme. D'après la Loi, les principales attributions de la Commission d'urbanisme sont d'étudier les conditions physiques, sociales et économiques du territoire à planifier, de convoquer des assemblées publiques, et après consultation avec les commissions et les agences locales, de faire des recommandations en vue des développements futurs. Ces recommandations sont ensuite incorporées dans un plan d'ensemble de développement que la législation d'Ontario nomme "Plan Officiel". Lorsque ce Plan est adopté par le Conseil et approuvé par le Ministre, il devient légalement le plan d'urbanisme officiel pour tout le territoire concerné.

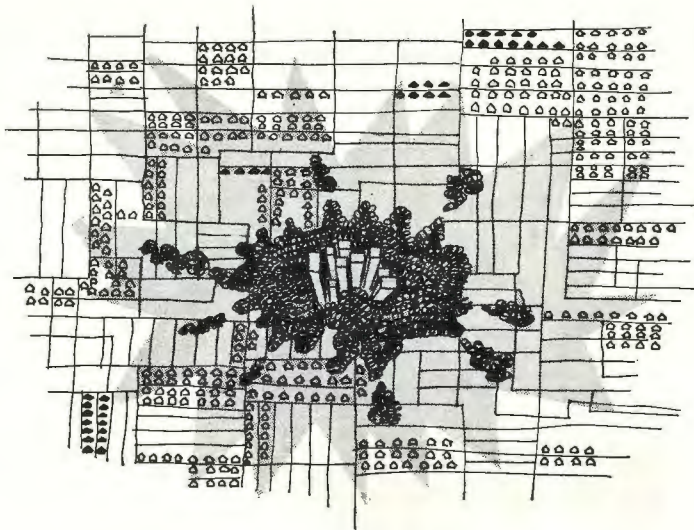
Selon la Loi de l'urbanisme, le zonage doit se conformer au Plan Officiel. La Loi municipale a conféré aux municipalités le pouvoir d'établir une réglementation de l'utilisation du terrain au moyen de règlements de zonage.

Présentement, la rénovation urbaine prend de plus en plus d'importance. Sujette à l'approbation des ministres, une municipalité peut désigner un territoire où existe un besoin de rénovation. Pour mettre en vigueur le plan de rénovation, la municipalité peut se servir de certains pouvoirs que ne confère aucune autre législation.

A la fin de 1956, il existait dans la Province, 248 zones à planifier. A peu près 80% de la population demeure à l'intérieur de ces zones prêtes à la planification. De ces 248 zones, 43 sont des zones groupées comprenant un total de 167 municipalités.

L'expérience démontre de plus en plus qu'il est difficile de planifier les petites municipalités sans prendre en considération les régions dont elles font partie. Donc, les Commissions conjointes jouent un rôle important dans l'urbanisme. Il est à espérer qu'à l'échelle provinciale, l'Office de l'urbanisme pourra étudier minutieusement les principales régions en croissance afin d'apporter une aide efficace à l'urbanisme régional.

Les autres offices du Ministère—Habitation, Conservation, Commerce et Industrie et Défense Civile—sont également tous très intéressés à la croissance urbaine. Leurs activités sont brièvement décrites dans l'article de M. Tyrrell.



HELL IS A SUBURB

What Kind of Neighbourhoods Do We Want?

by Norman Pearson*

Sketches

by John Leaning

Hell is a suburb; it is a new and raw accumulation of houses attached to a city. A great urban explosion has scattered patches of debris over the countryside for miles around the crumbling and smouldering centre. Each of these patches contains the wreckage of hundreds of dreams of a better life. But what was an idyll for each family has become a nightmare for all of us. Identical houses on standard lots in featureless neighbourhoods; wasted land; a destruction of the true benefits of the country and a negation of the qualities of the city. In these sprawling suburban areas we have lost privacy, unbroken views, contact with nature. We have left behind us the qualities of urbanity. Some of us have been rescued from the dirt, noise and distress of our crowded cities — to go quietly mad in the straightjacket of suburbia. If cities are the visible evidence of a people, we are in a sorry state indeed. Where our surroundings are not ugly they are usually mediocre. Where something pleasant and attractive exists we call it 'unspoilt' and damn ourselves in the process. We can't stop progress, and who would want to? But we make our surroundings, and then our surroundings make us: and at the moment they are a working model of hell. As builders of cities, planners and planned alike, we are either ignominious failures or downright incompetents. We are perhaps fumbling towards something better, but it will be a painful process. We grew too fast with too little care. Why has this come about? What kind of neighbourhoods do we want?

HOW TO BUILD A SUBURB

Unfortunately, city building has degenerated, by force of circumstance. Until recently, the bulldozer has

The Author

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been the chief implement, and the chief symbols have been the easy pickings, the fast buck, and the gravy train. For most of the past decade, the building of a suburb has followed a formula. In the age of "do-it-yourself" it looks like an easy recipe:

Take a plot of reasonably good agricultural land on the edge of an expanding city. Don't wait for sewers or piped water supply if you can dig a well and if the soil is reasonably porous. Dispense with the network of urban services. Let the land pass from hand to hand without a sod being turned or a stone being moved. When land values reach a limit in this way, turn it over to a man who will, with the minimum of professional advice, proceed to chop it up into little pieces. Let the roads be related to this need, and the layout be conditioned by boundaries which are like a patchwork quilt. Do what the public agencies require, changing a few lines here and there, seeing that wells can be dug, that people won't be poisoned or fall ill, that occasionally the streets lead somewhere. Then proceed to build houses on all available building land, and see that these dwellings will outlast the mortgage. Add a few school sites, dedicate the waste pieces as public open space. Shake the mixture vigorously and bring in the bulldozers. Improve upon nature by grubbing up the trees and shifting the topsoil. Fill in the valleys by using earth taken from the hillocks. Finally, market these houses by putting up noticeboards advertising the latest features of "modern living". Then move on . . .

Take a piece of land . . .

THE RESULTING CHAOS

Not all our suburban neighbourhoods are like this. Some were built with care and taste. Here and there a sensible subdivider, an overworked official or a stubborn site gave an area diversity, originality and character. Most, unfortunately, were shoddily mass-produced. It is a miracle that so many are bearable, for they have had

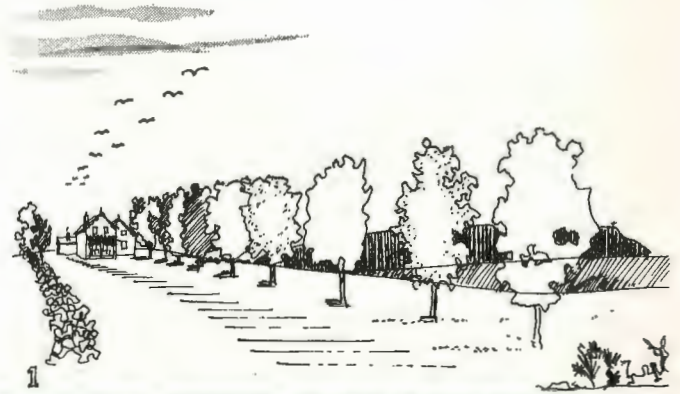
obsolescence and instability built-in from the beginning. Roads are unfinished because services are incomplete. Lots must be worked over and dug up to provide sewers, gas, water or storm drainage. Inexperienced governments composed of farmers and former city-dwellers reel under a succession of rapid blows. Good intentions . . . but we all know the old adage.

Already in many suburban areas soaring taxes are the same as in the central city, with only a fraction of the services. Our neighbourhoods are in fact too extensive to be economical. In an effort to fight this battle, municipalities vie with each other to increase the assessed value of the dwellings which are permitted, to insist on a larger floor area, and to attract the men in the grey flannel suits. Unless the rate of growth drops, this policy is foredoomed. Cities themselves will feel forced to play the same game, so that there will be great losses in our housing stock for the lower income groups.

Perhaps we will be forced to redevelop our suburbs first . . . a shocking state of affairs. The benefits of nature recede as new suburbs are added. The vacancy rate increases as the financial burdens become too severe for the poorer people. Schools are over-crowded; many home-owners become part-time peasants and spend hours each day working on their lots; most spend an increasing time each day driving on roads which are steadily becoming more crowded. As the suburbs expand, more of us are forced to commute. New highways breed new suburbs and bring more commuters to tear downtown apart. Low-density sprawl automatically defeats the economics of public transit systems and their further decline makes the core of the city less desirable. More potential suburban-dwellers . . . then the realization that wives may easily become the prisoners of sprawl. Walking goes out of fashion . . . where should we walk? Distances are so great, schools and shops so scattered, scenery so dull. The scarcity of baby-sitters, and the apparent frustration of excessive suburbia, suggest that a better way must be found. It must be found before the next wave of growth pounds across the land.

SIN AND SUBURBIA

Certain attitudes implicit in suburbia suggest that this sprawl has its own deadly sins. Most of our neighbourhoods are built upon the virtuous foundation of home-ownership. Is it therefore sinful to want to live in rented accommodation? The prevalent building is the detached single-family dwelling. Are these the only ones which deserve to be called "homes"? Some people may prefer to live in tower apartments, row houses, duplexes or semi-detached houses, and still feel proud of this as a "home". Can it be that we have a guilt-complex about grandmothers? Do we believe that trees bring dirt and disease? Is there a tribal god of the well and the septic tank? Perhaps we all have illusions of our standard plots as isolated estates. Most suburbs seem to reflect these views.





Is it evil to wish to intermingle tower apartments, row houses and all the other devices for living within one site? Must my neighbour always be the man who pays the same taxes and drives the same sort of car? Are we ashamed of work, in keeping all evidence of it away from our children? What strange philosophy makes us keep our women locked away in a special compound of identical huts, while the men forage far afield in a city which their wives have almost forgotten. As men are evident by their absence perhaps children imagine that father is a myth, that money grows in distant fields. It may well be, after all, that this is all a cunning plot to turn our nation into a matriarchy, or to lure us all into conformity. Not, in fact, a "do-it-yourself" town, but a "do-it-to-yourself" town. Do it to yourself before somebody does it to you. But then again, it may all be a ghastly mistake. Or we could be wrong.

SATAN IN THE SUBURBS

The most sinful thing in the suburbs, it is said, is to be different. If Satan were to stalk the suburbs, to plague its inhabitants, what would happen? Visualize a certain Mr. Beelzebub, the man selected to do this. He moves to a subdivision, and by some clever work with the fine print on various agreements manages to build a house which presents a blank wall, not a picture-window, to the street. Furthermore it is built (despite the local by-laws) round a patio and almost ignores the houses on either side. The man of mystery moves in: imagine the horror of finding that he drives a tiny motor-scooter rather than a car. He tells his neighbours that he hates bridge, and barbecues. Further news on the grape-vine, to the effect that he has twice the income of anyone else in the area: he builds a small dome on his flat roof, to pursue his hobby, astronomy. After a while he is discovered making bird-cages in the basement, and he breeds pigeons. His wife, apparently a fallen angel, detests children. But two dull spinster aunts rent rooms and do leatherwork and weaving all day. As the last straw, he puts an enormous fence all round his lot, and plants quick-growing trees in addition. Though there is no real chance of a lynching, there would certainly be great uneasiness about this devil, petitions to the municipal council, and a few houses might be sold. He doesn't actually harm anybody . . . but he is different. He would be an unusual suburbanite.

This is an absurd instance. But our present suburbs must seem to encourage conformity to a startling extent. The increasing problem of mental health seems to show that something is sour and sad in our Utopia. Perhaps the

real sin in suburbia is to be a human being. These are neighbourhoods in name only, for our suburbs are not designed for people, but for robots.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

There are no easy answers. For the first change is an inner one, a conviction that cities are the finest works of man, that human values are more important than property values. We are designing a landscape for living, and building neighbourhoods for people, with all their infinite variety. If we must go to hell, then at least let us provide a setting in which each man goes to hell in his own way. What other nations have done we too can do . . . let the planners plan and the designers design.

Basically, we must then set out to design and build for a reasonable stability in our neighbourhoods. It is not accident, but deliberate contrivance, which has ensured the survival of the fine residential quarters in ancient European cities. Often built hundreds of years ago, they were carefully organized at the outset with open space, shops, a variety of housing stock, and an overall standard of design. They were also carefully protected from unnecessary traffic and destructive forces.

The key to this, in its turn, is a respect for the platform provided by nature. The contours and the qualities of the landscape, regardless of density, must be at least respected, and at best used to advantage. In the shadow of the high apartment blocks in a Copenhagen suburb is an amphitheatre, made from the material excavated from the foundations. It uses the site and the consequences of the work with imagination and concern for the quality of living conditions. No doubt in Canada this material would have been sold as "clean fill", and the natural bowl would have been filled in.

We must recognize that a man's right to use his land entirely as he wishes makes many men suffer; and that most of our current planning is essentially negative. The irony is that the planner does not wish to play at God; but his masters will not let him do his best work. Even to trust the official to make minor adjustments would be an advance: but though our technicians could provide cities of variety and vitality, between the power and the glory falls the shadow.

THE SHADOW ON THE LAND

The shadow on the land is the wilful and irresponsible waste of that scarce and finite resource: usable space. The difficulty is seen when we realize that to accept a single-family house as the only valid unit in a neighbourhood automatically restricts the designer. Unless funds

are plentiful and the natural landscape of great character, the layout cannot avoid being dull. But if we had provision in our neighbourhoods for families of different sizes we would have dwellings of different types . . . and greater ingenuity in the layout.

If we are not to waste land, we must do as most civilized countries do. Before a contract is let or a particle of material is moved, we should have a neighbourhood layout. If our surroundings are to improve, it can only be an organized and designed improvement. When towns grew slowly, chance and custom and good sense prevailed to give delightful consequences. But as towns grow faster and faster we can only reclaim these qualities by consciously providing at least the framework. Set out in advance the street pattern, the house types, the building lines, the tree planting, the shops and the schools: this is a severe test of composition, but it can be done. It must be done.

Then before a house is built or a machine turned loose on the bricks and mortar, let us ensure that all the services and pipes which are needed underground are installed . . . underground. Sanitary sewers, storm water drainage, water pipes, telephone and electricity supply lines, district heating and the like. Put them in ducts or separate reservations. Put them under ground. Put them in *first*.

Finally, this organizational work should be done by the public authority. It will be argued that we have not the skilled people available, that the first efforts will be clumsy. True . . . but we are building cities which will be the home of the Canadian people, perhaps for centuries, so we must find these planners and designers, train them and attract them and give them challenging work. We will all benefit.

RING THE CHANGES

There are many alternatives . . . we have only to try them. If by-laws, zoning controls, official plans and building codes inhibit our battle to improve the environment, it is the codes which are wrong, not the dreams. There is no place in our neighbourhoods for the man who wants to rent, not own, a house . . . we must make a place for him. Why should there be special colonies for large families when a suitable distribution of such extra-large houses would ease the impact on schools and improve the design potentialities of the buildings which compose our suburbs? If we are short of baby-sitters, build the occasional apartment block for the aged or the young without children. Above all, let us experiment, and ring the changes. For if we do not attempt these we will never learn to build cities, and we will all suffer as a result.

Our codes and planning laws were set up to protect us from errors. They can easily become restrictive and chafing. Why must all evidence of industry be excluded from our neighbourhoods when a whole range of experiments from the medieval city to the noble attempts of

Letchworth or Welwyn Garden City show that some industries will be excellent neighbours for housing, perhaps employing women who would otherwise be unable to work. The criterion should be something akin to the "performance standards" now suggested in the U.S.A. Does it produce excessive noise? Is it smelly? Will it mean trucks thundering down our streets? Surely, some industries in the electronic age will be scarcely recognizable in a residential area . . . they may even be less disturbing than the houses on the local park. Certainly, as experiments like Menlo Park in California show, many industries can produce surroundings like a renaissance palace; for these can be the prince-patrons of our age.

In building, why should architectural experiments be frowned upon? Surely our criteria here should be simply those related to safety, durability and appropriateness. Rather than prescribe a certain fashion of building, we should seek to test each proposal, each innovation by a few rules. Does it respect the limits and special properties of the material? Will this dwelling last? Is it a humanly safe and healthy environment? Again, if this calls for higher skills in our public servants, this is a challenge which a rich nation should be able to accept.

OSTRICH ATTITUDES

The problem cuts deeper than this. We cannot long treat symptoms, but must eventually treat causes. So we should not be shocked at the idea that a neighbourhood should be designed as a whole, for a greater variety of functions and activities than is now the case. We must not be misled by our advertising to believe that the automobile cannot or should not become our servant. Our towns and our neighbourhoods can be freed from the tyranny of built-in obsolescence. We can cut down the total amount of time spent in travelling and at the same time make our neighbourhoods better places for living, by introducing suitable small workshops, well-designed shopping areas, offices as well as homes. We can make our school problem easier to handle, our taxes more amenable, our public transit systems more efficient, and generally raise the level of services available, by increasing the variety of house types available and by encouraging some mixing of the income groups. At the moment we build little walls around each income level, and by refusing to grapple with the problems of metropolitan organization encourage the fiction that the poor do not exist. As it stands, the poor are banished to a limbo, and the problem of low-cost housing is shelved. So perhaps by varying the buildings and their sizes, by effecting real economies in layout, by moderate increases in density, we may also simplify many pressing social problems.

ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT

Even within our use of the individual lots there is room for improvement. Modern architecture has shown us ways of allowing indoor and outdoor space to be related to each other in a meaningful fashion, so that

the space outside the building is like an outdoor room. It has shown us how to reclaim some of the land wasted for parking cars by raising our buildings from the ground, so that they float in space. It has shown us how to regain the lost mastery of our surroundings, to build in a way which reflects human needs, human abilities and natural conditions. Given the chance, it is not difficult to produce a reasonable set of living conditions in a suburb; given encouragement the difficulties of producing excellent conditions can be met and beaten. We have only to study ourselves and our fellow men, to recognize the primacy of social facts. Our present approach justifies being called the work of the cookie-cutter, and the result is the sprawling slum of 1984.

THE FUTURE

Because we live in an era of stupid plans and sad results we should not assume that the ostrich attitude has taken root in the minds of the public. Despite

prophecies of doom, we are not yet a regimented grey-faced generation. We will be forced to improve our present wasteful attitude to land because there is a limit to the usable land. We will be forced to raise our densities to more reasonable levels simply because it takes a minimum population to keep schools, shopping centres, transit systems, industries, art galleries or football stadiums going, and there is a limit to the distance or time people will travel. We will be forced to vary the accommodation and the functions and the income groups — because we cannot afford bankrupt municipalities, downtrodden poor, and full mental hospitals; because we cannot let our industrial organization and our transport system run down; because we cannot let our central cities decay. We will demand something better to avoid the boredom. Hell, after all, contains some interesting and active people; and even a fallen angel has visions of climbing the ramparts in the sky.



La banlieue est un enfer

Extraits de l'article de M. Pearson

Ce qui fut une idylle pour chaque famille est devenu un cauchemar pour nous tous: des maisons identiques sur des terrains standardisés dans des développements sans caractère; une terre inculte; la destruction des avantages naturels de la campagne sans retrouver aucune des qualités de la ville. L'extension désordonnée des banlieues nous a fait perdre cette atmosphère d'intimité, cette agréable vue du paysage et tout contact avec la nature. Nous avons laissé derrière nous les qualités de l'urbanité. Quelques-uns d'entre nous ont été sauvés de la saleté, du bruit et du désarroi de nos villes surpeuplées . . . pour sombrer tranquillement dans la démence de cette ambiance suburbaine. Cependant, nous façonnons notre milieu pour ensuite être formés par lui; et, en ce moment, la banlieue est vraiment un enfer.

* * *

Déjà, dans plusieurs quartiers suburbains ne disposant que d'un nombre très limité de services, la taxe est aussi élevée qu'à la ville. Les développements résidentiels sont trop étendus pour qu'il y ait économie. Une bataille terrible s'engage entre les municipalités qui se débattent du mieux qu'elles peuvent pour exiger l'estimation la plus élevée possible pour les maisons permises, pour demander la plus grande superficie de plancher possible et pour attirer "the men in the grey flannel suits". A moins qu'il y ait une baisse dans le taux de la croissance urbaine, cette politique est vouée à un com-

plet insuccès. En effet, les villes se sentiront bientôt obligées elles aussi d'agir de la même façon, ce qui entraînera des pertes énormes dans l'habitation disponible pour les gens à revenus modiques.

* * *

Est-il si mauvais d'entremêler de hautes maisons d'appartements, des maisons en terrasse et autres facilités de logement sur un seul et même site? Mon voisin doit-il toujours être celui qui paie autant de taxes que moi et conduit la même marque d'automobile? Avons-nous honte de notre occupation au point d'en cacher la nature, même à nos enfants? Quelle étrange philosophie nous pousse à tenir nos femmes enfermées dans des agglomérations de buttes identiques, alors que les hommes travaillent au loin dans une ville que leurs épouses ont presque oubliée? Puisque les hommes brillent par leur absence, peut-être que les enfants imaginent que leur père n'est qu'un mythe et que l'argent pousse dans des pays éloignés.

* * *

Il n'y a pas de solution facile à ces problèmes. Car, le premier changement qui s'impose en est un de psychologie: il faut se convaincre que les villes constituent les plus belles réalisations de l'homme et que les valeurs humaines doivent prévaloir sur les valeurs immobilières. Nous aménageons des sites pour y vivre et nous bâtissons des centres résidentiels pour y loger des hommes variés à l'infini.

PLANNING AND URBAN RENEWAL

by Stanley H. Pickett

This article is based upon a lecture delivered by Mr. Pickett during a course on Housing and Community Planning at Carleton University, Ottawa, in March 1957. Mr. Pickett is Urban Redevelopment Officer of the Community Planning Association of Canada.

In the last few months the term 'urban renewal' has become more widely used. Although it is desirable that there should be realisation of the need for renewal of our cities, the newness of the term may tend to suggest that renewal is a new activity and that it can be carried on without reference to other municipal functions. That of course is not so.

THE OVERALL PLANNING PROBLEM

Urban renewal should be seen in its proper context and I want to start by setting before you, very briefly, my impression of the general planning situation as it is today in our large urban centres and the relationship of renewal to that situation. The planning problem is basically that of the increasing size of those centres. The tidal wave of urban growth flooding across the countryside will I am sure be seen by historians of the future as one of the significant phenomena of the 20th century. At the present rate of growth, many Canadian cities will double their present population by 1980. Metropolitan Toronto, as you know, is expected to increase from nearly 1½ million to 3 million people within the next twenty-five years. In 1900, the area now known as Metropolitan Toronto housed only some 300,000 people. The city will, therefore, have seen a tenfold increase in 80 years. In the United States, it has been estimated by Miss Catherine Bauer that in the next twenty years the population will increase by 56 million, of whom 54½ million will live in either existing or new metropolitan areas. This will mean that by 1980 about 70% of the population of the United States will live in cities or towns. The Gordon Commission in its Report to Parliament estimated that the population of Canada in 1980 will be over 26½ million of whom as many as 80% will live in urban areas. I make this brief excursion into the field of statistics to show the immensity of the problem. It is one which *must* be given serious attention by Governments at all levels at a very early date, if chaotic conditions are to be avoided in twenty-five or thirty years time.

Suggested solutions of this problem have been and are being tried in various parts of the world. I need only

mention the New Towns of Great Britain, *L'Unité d'Habitation* and *la ville radieuse* of Le Corbusier, and the radiating finger city recommended in the Copenhagen Development Plan, to indicate some of these.

BREAKDOWN OF THE PROBLEM

(1) The suburbs

The problem of urban growth falls into three recognisable parts. The first of these is suburban sprawl—the "scatteration city" as it has been called. The lure of suburban living is baited with the sight of green fields and a tree, from the windows of the home. The first suburban dweller, having his own rapid transportation, sees no problems in the few miles which he has to travel to and from work or school. There is plenty of space, and services are no problem; the septic tank and well are more than adequate; there are no taxes and, in the minds of some, this may be an attraction. The awakening from this idyllic view of suburban living has been harsh indeed. Green fields and trees are the property of several hundred home owners; the windows open onto a splendid vista of other windows; the road is a traffic jam at all peak traffic hours; the water table falls, making the well work occasionally—if at all. The septic tank is just septic! Inevitably there is agitation for utilities, but if these can be provided at all it is usually at excessive cost, and the taxes, once so remote, are rapidly assuming urban proportions without urban benefits. On top of these social disadvantages to the suburban dweller, are the evils which affect us all, those of land wastage, the destruction of the traffic value of access highways to our cities, and the spoiling of the countryside around the cities, destroying that green belt which is almost universally longed for, yet for which people show such surprising reluctance to fight.

Another aspect of unsound community development which is related to the suburban sprawl problem is that of subdivisions on the outskirts of our built-up areas which may be soundly designed in themselves but are not properly related to each other nor to the pattern of communications. This makes for confusion, particularly

for traffic and this can be clearly seen on the fringes of many of our cities today. Another unsound aspect of unplanned subdivision development is that of timing. Development must be orderly, proceeding in a logical manner in step with the extension of utilities and services. Yet we so often see large subdivisions apparently in glorious isolation, with utilities stretching through substantial lengths of undeveloped street linking the subdivision to the network of the city's utility system. This is unsound economically and is bad for the people served because these extended utilities are constantly being cut into and joined as the vacant land in between the new subdivision and the city is eventually developed.

(2) Traffic and Transportation

The second part of the urban growth problem is that which makes suburbia possible, the automobile—a wonderful servant now becoming our mechanical master when it moves within the sphere of urban influence. There are two problems really, one the highway problem—the creation of an adequate pattern of streets for easy, safe, quick movement—and the other the parking problem. The downtown worker no longer takes up the space occupied by his own size elevens, but requires 200 square feet of city space in which to leave his means of transportation. I think the essential fact which we must recognize about the traffic problem is that it is going to get very much worse.

If Miss Bauer is right in her figures for population increase, then by 1980, in the United States alone, there are going to be almost another 50 million automobiles. These increases will be seen proportionately in Canada, possibly to an even greater degree, because of the fact that in 1957 the number of automobiles per household is rather less in Canada than it is in the United States. As I have said, the use of the automobile makes suburban development possible; it makes decentralisation of homes and industry possible. But these types of development generate a traffic demand which slowly and insidiously destroys the comfort, convenience and safety of the suburban location. Thus, the paradox of suburban living is that the thing which makes it possible can eventually destroy all its advantages.

Traffic and parking congestion also strangle the life of the city centre. The time saved in driving from home to centre is often lost in seeking a parking place; movement at the centre is difficult, slow and tiring. It is true that in several cities, thoroughways have been constructed, at vast expense, to carry traffic easily into the heart of the city, but the problem of the dispersal and parking of traffic at the city end of the thoroughway remains and is becoming intensified with the ever-increasing number of automobiles.

(3) Blight and Slums

The third part of the urban growth problem is the existence in most of our cities of substantial blighted areas around the city centre, and often on the city

fringes. These two types of blighted area are different in character. That at the centre usually consists of old buildings which have outlived their usefulness and which have become worn-out as well as functionally obsolescent. In many of these decayed buildings, overcrowding has produced slums of a particularly vicious kind. The fringe blight problem is caused by shack-building, usually just outside the city limits, often subsequently included within the city by boundary extensions. Many of these houses never have been in good condition and they can almost always be described as blighted, although happily slum conditions are not usually so prevalent.

One house in twelve in Canada is over eighty years old. This is shown in the 1951 Census, which also reveals that there were more than 100,000 substandard houses in cities of over 30,000 population. If nothing is done with the present-day slums and areas of blight they will steadily and inevitably get worse, and eventually action will have to be taken. Quite apart therefore, from the controversy which may rage over public housing and over the effects of better housing on people, the simple fact is that these people must be rehoused unless they are living in areas where it is physically possible to improve the standard of accommodation by conservation techniques such as those employed under the inspiration of private enterprise in Oakland, California.

In almost every speech which is made today we are reminded that this is a technological age, it is an age when almost any physical activity can be carried on with efficiency, with dignity and with satisfying results. It is the age which has produced the New Towns, The Kitimat and Kemano developments. It has produced the Festival of Britain, it has produced Penn Center, the Golden Triangle, and other great redevelopment projects in the United States. In such an age the slums of our cities are not merely a symbol of material poverty: they are a symbol of poverty of imagination and poverty of resolution! It is the aim of an urban renewal program to eliminate blighted areas, to redevelop them where necessary, to replan them, to re-integrate them into the city as a whole, and to prevent by conservation techniques the decay of other existing buildings into conditions of blight.

Now it is apparent that these three aspects of the urban growth problem, suburbia, transportation and urban blight are interdependent. If our cities are to be truly renewed, if they are to reflect the efficiency of 20th century technology, if they are to be places of delight, cradles of civilisation, as they have been in the past, four things at least are necessary.

Firstly, a development plan for the whole urban area, carefully designed, based upon the best information and the best research available.

Secondly, a method to control fringe growth, to prevent further urban sprawl along the highways and, at the same time, relate fringe areas to the city.

Thirdly, a plan for traffic routes and transportation both personal and public, based upon future requirements as far as they can reasonably be foreseen, in order to knit the whole city together and to give it circulation and life.

Fourthly, the renewal of the blighted heart of the city within the framework of the comprehensive plan.

THE OPPORTUNITY FOR RENEWAL

It is no light task to undertake the demolition of people's homes and places of business, to replan large areas, causing widespread disruption and interference with city streets and existing utilities, to rehouse families in new housing projects and to relocate those displaced, for whom new housing is not available for one reason or another. This process must be one of the most difficult operations which has ever been successfully carried out in the field of human living and environment, ranking with the tremendous problems posed by war, by famine, by refugees and by other large scale dislocations of the prevailing pattern of life. Nevertheless, our cities must be renewed; for if they are not, the blight spreading at the centre will slowly and insidiously strangle the efficiency of the city and may eventually render it unable to carry out its functions. As Mr. J. S. Hodgson of CMHC said in Hamilton in 1956, the next ten years present a unique opportunity to Canadians to use the available skilled labour force for the re-creation of worn-out areas and the construction of housing for persons displaced. It is some encouragement at the outset of this tremendous task to look at what has been achieved in the United States and, to a limited extent, in Canada.

RENEWAL PROGRESS IN THE U.S.A.

Urban renewal in the United States has been going on for some considerable time, dating indeed from the redevelopment of almost the whole of Oklahoma City at the end of the last century. It is, nevertheless, within the last few years that the most striking achievements have been made amidst a great flowering of renewal activity, aided by legislative measures, notably Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 and the subsequent Housing Acts of 1954 and 1956. For example, in Pittsburgh there has been a widely publicised redevelopment of the Golden Triangle lying at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. Fifty-nine acres of the oldest part of the city had become seriously blighted and functionally obsolete. Without the employment of any federal funds the area has been cleared: 36 acres have been redeveloped by the State of Pennsylvania as a park, celebrating the historic significance of the site, namely the defeat in 1758 of the French by a British army under General Forbes, and also as a home of displays of the native trees and plants of western Pennsylvania. The remaining twenty-three acres of the site were redeveloped by the Equitable Life Assurance

Society: in this area known as Gateway Center, three large office blocks, one of twenty-four stories and two of twenty stories have been built and a hotel is to be built this year. The Equitable Life has also sold a site to the State of Pennsylvania for the construction of a State office building.

As a result of this activity Pittsburgh has become a shining example of what can be achieved by urban renewal; yet it is interesting to note that within the past few months there have been strong criticisms of the program on the grounds that lack of planning is stopping the renewal program from being a continuous one. This criticism tends to indicate that no matter how spectacular the individual project, it is absolutely essential in the long run that renewal should be in accordance with a comprehensive plan for the whole metropolitan area or it cannot possibly be integrated in the manifold commercial and social activities of that area.

Large-scale renewal is also in progress in Philadelphia, where elevated railroad tracks, which used to run through the heart of the city, have been removed and are being replaced by a large complex of office buildings known as Penn Center. The Center will be approached by subways and roads running below the existing street level. Subterranean gardens are being constructed to take greenery and air into these underground approaches. The Center itself will be restricted to pedestrians and traffic will flow around its periphery. Four or five very large buildings have already been completed, and with the construction of the remaining buildings, the very heart of Philadelphia will have been reconstructed.

As bald statements of fact, these two examples are impressive enough. They show that it is possible to renew our cities on the largest scale, but behind the statement of fact lies the tremendous change in environment, for in both cities sunshine and air, green trees and freedom from traffic movement replace noise and ugliness and confused land uses. Similar projects can be found in other cities in the United States and there is no need for me to detail any more of them. They can be seen in Detroit, in Chicago and in New York, where one of the largest renewal projects of the future—the Lincoln Cultural Center—is now under consideration and is giving rise to serious problems of relocation.

You will recall that I mentioned the existence of blight on the fringe of the cities. There is a very interesting example of redevelopment of that type of blighted area in Eastwick, Philadelphia. This is an area of over 3,000 acres. It has all been subdivided. Many of the small lots in the area were sold years ago and today are vacant and tax delinquent. Approved developers cannot economically develop the low-lying area because of the difficulty of locating owners, the lack of storm water drainage and an inadequate sewer system. It is proposed to take down many of the existing houses in order that the grade of the land can be raised

to make possible a proper drainage system. The whole area has been replanned by the City Planning Commission and is to be redeveloped by the City Redevelopment Authority. The Redevelopment Authority is now clearing the land and the property to be demolished. It will then fill the land as necessary and resell it to approved builders and redevelopers who will be required to follow the basic redevelopment plan for the area.

CANADIAN RENEWAL TO DATE

In Canada, renewal on the American scale has not yet taken place. Canadian operations have been limited to a few slum clearance and rehousing projects. That these have not been more widespread is I think due to the fact that most of our blighted areas are very near the downtown centres and are just not suitable for redevelopment *residentially*. Yet, with the *National Housing Act* as it stood until last year, it was virtually impossible to carry out redevelopment schemes for commercial and industrial purposes, using Federal financial aid. I am sure that the experience gained in many important aspects of redevelopment in the Regent Park projects in Toronto, and in the slum clearance project in St. John's, Newfoundland, will be invaluable in the greater operations which are to come. Amendments to the *National Housing Act* were made in 1956 to permit the use of cleared land for industrial, commercial or other highest and best uses, whilst at the same time permitting and indeed encouraging the investment of private capital in renewal. One of the first fruits of the amended Act has been renewed interest in examining the magnitude of the housing and renewal problem in some of our cities preparatory to redevelopment. In this effort, the lead was given by Toronto, where an excellent report has been produced which merits the most careful study and attention. I am happy that the CPAC has been able to assist in the publication of the SHORT STATEMENT of that Report. With the further study of housing conditions in both the City of Toronto and the metropolitan area, which is to be made in consultation with Dr. Leo Grebler, Toronto will be unique among Canadian cities in having a fully adequate survey of this all important matter. The second of the renewal reports was published in July in Saint John, N.B., and suggests remedies for the very serious situation in that city. Similar studies are also being made in Halifax, Winnipeg, Regina and Vancouver, and I am hopeful that starts will soon be made in Moncton, Hull, Sarnia, Hamilton and Victoria.

HOW IS WORTHWHILE RENEWAL STARTED?

Mr. Ogden Tanner, writing in a recent issue of the ARCHITECTURAL FORUM, said:

"Broad scale renewal of real consequence can never get off the ground unless it (1) gets strong working support from the city's business leaders (2) gains wide under-

standing and help through the city's communications network, its newspapers, associations, clubs, churches and neighbourhood groups, right down to the store-owner, the homeowner and the voter. The City Planner or Mayor or Chamber of Commerce cannot get it done alone".

To illustrate the truth of Mr. Tanner's remarks, here are a few examples selected at random from a considerable number of cases in the United States.

The Detroit Tomorrow Committee of a hundred business and professional men is giving the Mayor advice and support on slum clearance, city redevelopment and park programs. The non-profit *Citizens Redevelopment Corporation* headed by a mortgage banker and other community leaders, including the head of the United Auto Workers Union, have raised \$400,000 from industry to help a developer start on a 53-acre clearance and rebuilding project.

In Oakland, California, the Henry J. Kaiser Company supported a small *Citizens Committee* and has loaned the full time services of one of its Vice-Presidents, under whose leadership the Committee has organized for renewal, and is now making a survey of a 78-block slum area with the help of the University of California.

In Bloomington, Illinois, an Executive of General Electric Company became Chairman of the *Citizens Advisory Committee* which has concentrated on getting public support for a new City Planning Report. In Denver, Colorado, a *Citizens Urban Renewal Commission* is concentrating on the prevention and elimination of blight, by working in residential neighbourhoods with local leaders, believing that the first important thing in renewal is a good housing code enforced humanely, flexibly and patiently.

In Canada, too, citizen interest has already played a most important role in the slum clearance and redevelopment projects. In Newfoundland, for example, it was a citizens' group which as early as 1942 persuaded the then Commission of Government to establish an enquiry into housing conditions in St. John's. As a result of that enquiry, the citizen group was formed into a Housing Corporation, which under the leadership of the past National President of this Association, Sir Brian Dunfield, acquired some 800 acres of land, developed one-third of it with housing and established a pattern which has revolutionised urban growth in that city. In Montreal, as we all know, the labours of citizens under the inspiring leadership and encouragement of Mrs. R. G. Gilbride have led ultimately to the formulation of a redevelopment plan for a substantial area in central Montreal bounded by St. Dominique, St. Catherines, Ontario and Sanguinet Streets, which will probably always be associated with the name of the Honourable Paul Dozois. In the light of the recent legislation passed by the Government of Quebec, it seems probable that citizen initiative will result in the elimination of slums and subsequent redevelopment. In Toronto it was the

work of the *Citizen's Housing and Planning Association* between 1944 and 1947 which led to the approval and construction of the Regent Park North Housing Project.

I would like to conclude by briefly mentioning the work of our own Association in urban renewal. CPAC is a citizen organisation. It exists to promote citizen interest in and support for community planning and to make available regular publications on planning. My own office was set up in order to promote citizen interest in and support for urban renewal in Canada. During the past six months I have visited almost all the major centres including all the cities where urban renewal studies are being made. We are endeavouring to ensure that in each centre there will be an informed body of citizens able to get behind the drive to renew, to support the Council or Town Planning Commission or whoever may be endeavouring to get renewal started, to disseminate information on the need for renewal to citizen groups many of which already have considerable interest in various aspects of the renewal problem. In

Toronto recently, at the invitation of several civic organisations including CPAC and the Metropolitan Toronto Civic Conference, Mr. Aaron Levine of Philadelphia, Director of the *Citizens Council for City Planning*, spoke on the work of citizen organisations and described the tremendous part played by his own group in Philadelphia. There is now considerable interest in the possibility of a citizen group in Toronto and we are doing all we can to promote its establishment. Recently I had the pleasure of visiting Vancouver to speak on the subject of citizen participation to a very large representative meeting under the auspices of the Board of Trade. As a result of this meeting it was decided to set up a continuing committee which I hope will ultimately lead to the establishment of a City Renewal Council. These are small beginnings; but in conjunction with the work now being done on surveys, with the development of actual projects in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, they are most encouraging, and I am hopeful that in the next five years or so we shall be able to see in Canada many striking examples of renewal in action.

List for Further Reading

The Redevelopment of Canadian Cities, by J. S. Hodgson. COMMUNITY PLANNING NEWS No. 5, 1956 (reprints available).
City Renewal in Action, by Carl Feiss. COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW, Vol. VI, No. 4, December 1956.
Grand Design for Pittsburgh, by David L. Lawrence. COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1956.
Federal Urban Renewal Law, by S. H. Pickett. COMMUNITY PLANNING NEWS No. 6, 1956 (reprints available).
Slum Clearance Will Continue in Toronto, by Dr. Albert Rose. COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW, Vol. V, No. 3, September 1955.
Amendment of the National Housing Act, by The Hon. Robert H. Winters. COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW, Vol. VI, No. 2, June 1956.

Control New City Sprawl, by Catherine Bauer, and *How to Handle This Chaos of Congestion*, by Victor Gruen. ARCHITECTURAL FORUM, September 1956. Available from CPAC, 77 MacLaren Street, Ottawa. 40 cents.

Blueprint for Neighbourhood Conservation, by The Henry J. Kaiser Company. Build America Better Council, National Association of Real Estate Boards, Washington, D.C.

Adequate Housing—Does it Make Better Citizens?, by Dr. Albert Rose. PROCEEDINGS, 14th Biennial Meeting, Canadian Conference on Social Work, 1954. Available at \$1.50, 55 Parkdale Avenue, Ottawa.

Note de l'éditeur

Dans cet article, M. Pickett veut démontrer que la rénovation urbaine fait partie du programme nécessaire pour faire face au grand problème d'urbanisme de notre temps. Ce problème de la rapidité de la croissance urbaine comporte, parmi ses éléments constitutifs, l'extension désordonnée des banlieues, la circulation routière et le transport, et les zones vétustes au centre et aux abords de nos villes. L'auteur examine les rapports qui existent entre la vétusté et les taudis et affirme qu'à la lumière du progrès de la technologie, les taudis constituent plus qu'une expression de pauvreté matérielle. Ils sont un symbole d'une pauvreté d'imagination et surtout de décision.

M. Pickett recommande fortement un programme en

quatre étapes pour résoudre les difficultés résultant de la croissance urbaine:

- (1) un plan d'ensemble d'aménagement urbain;
- (2) l'utilisation de méthodes appropriées pour contrôler la croissance des banlieues et leur extension désordonnée;
- (3) un plan pour la circulation routière et le transport;
- (4) la rénovation qui inclut la conservation aussi bien que le réaménagement du coeur de la ville dans le cadre du plan d'ensemble.

En soulignant les difficultés de ce programme, l'auteur décrit les progrès accomplis aux Etats-Unis et au Canada et termine en incitant les citoyens à promouvoir et à encourager l'adoption et la mise en vigueur d'un programme de réaménagement pour chacune des villes du Canada.

STEPS TO BE TAKEN TO SECURE RENEWAL WITH ASSISTANCE UND

ITEM	STATUTORY REFERENCE	METHOD AND CONTENT OF APPLICATION
URBAN RENEWAL STUDY (whole municipality)	N.H.A., Sec. 33 (1) (h)	To Regional Supervisor, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation: 1. Formal Resolution of Council defining objectives of Study 2. Estimate of Cost of Study 3. Estimate of Staff Required (Note 2) 4. Proof of Provincial Approval (Note 1)
URBAN REDEVELOPMENT STUDY (specific area or areas of blight) (Notes 3 and 4)	N.H.A., Sec. 33 (1) (h)	To Regional Supervisor, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation: 1. Formal Resolution of Council defining objectives of Study 2. Estimate of Cost of Study 3. Estimate of Staff Required (Note 2) 4. Proof of Provincial Approval (Note 1)
ACQUIRING AND CLEARING LAND FOR REDEVELOPMENT (Application for Federal Approval in Principle only—at the option of the Municipality) (Note 1)	N.H.A., Sec. 23	To Regional Supervisor, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation: 1. Formal Resolution of Council together with sufficient data to show: (a) that area is blighted (b) that area is largely residential or that its proposed re-use is to be largely residential (c) that the proposals fit into an overall community plan (d) that the proposed use is the correct planned use of the land (e) that there is a plan for rehousing families displaced 2. Suggested methods of land disposal after clearance 3. Estimated cost of the project (approximate only) 4. Proof of Provincial Approval
ACQUIRING AND CLEARING LAND FOR REDEVELOPMENT (Formal Application for a Federal Contribution)	N.H.A., Sec. 23	To Regional Supervisor of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation: 1. Proof of Provincial Approval (Note 1) 2. Data giving description of the area in detail from physical, social and economic viewpoints. Data must include all points on the following list which are relevant to the particular case: (a) The Area—Social and Physical Data (i) Relationship to adjacent areas and city as a whole (ii) Existing Community facilities (schools, churches, parks, shopping, etc.) and utilities (water, sewers, gas, hydro, etc.) in the area (iii) Municipal assessments of both land and buildings (iv) Existing streets, highways, rights of way, railroads and easements (v) Description of any municipally owned property (vi) Topographical and soil conditions (vii) Reasons for selecting area and defining its boundaries (viii) Age and condition of buildings (ix) Degree of blight (Note 2) (x) Reasons why clearance rather than rehabilitation is the proper remedy (xi) Population data. Family size and composition. Age Structure. Employment statistics. Tenure. Degree of overcrowding. (b) The Re-Housing Plan (i) Families to be rehoused. Number and size. (ii) Analysis of family incomes (iii) List of public relief cases (iv) Rehousing requirements and available resources (v) Proposals for rehousing showing number of families to be rehoused in: Private Rental Housing Private Housing for Sale Projects under the NHA Secs. 16, 19 or 36 (Note 3) (location or proposed location to be indicated) (vi) Municipal program for rehousing and methods of handling relocation (c) The Redevelopment Plan (i) Such particulars of the official Community Plan or Municipal Plan as may be relevant (ii) The re-use plan showing conformity with the official Community Plan or Municipal Plan, and a general description of the redevelopment proposed (Note 4) (iii) A statement setting out the economic factors influencing the redevelopment and the social and community objectives of the proposals (iv) Site plan showing details of existing and proposed public and private utilities (d) Land Disposal Plan (i) How land is to be acquired, managed pending demolition and proposals for clearance (Note 5) (ii) Proposals for the Registration of the new plan and for new Zoning (iii) The suggested method of disposal of the land and any conditions of sale proposed (Note 6) (e) Analysis of Cost (i) Anticipated acquisition and clearance costs in full detail together with details of the recoveries anticipated upon sale or lease (Note 7) (ii) The estimated profit or loss on the operation (iii) The federal contribution required, together with proposals for financing the balance of cost.

Information on statutory provisions is accurate as at 1st July, 1957.

STUDY AND ACTION ON URBAN UNDER THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT.

INITIATIVE BY	CARRIED OUT BY	FINANCED BY	NOTES
Municipal Council	Municipality	1. CMHC—up to 75% 2. Municipality —25%	1. Provincial Govt. must approve study prior to submission by Municipality to Regional Supervisor, CMHC 2. To include name of Director or Consultants proposed
Municipal Council	Municipality	1. CMHC—up to 50% 2. Municipality —50%	1. As above 2. As above 3. May be used in a municipality where areas of blight have al- ready been defined by a plan- ning survey 4. May be used to assemble data required for an application under N.H.A. Sec. 23
Municipal Council	Not applicable	Not applicable	1. Federal approval in principle does NOT constitute a com- mitment for a contribution under NHA Sec. 23. It is, however, an indication that the Federal Government recog- nises that a prima facie case for redevelopment exists
Municipal Council particular attention is drawn to Note 5 below)	Municipality under an agreement with Federal Govt.	1. Federal Govt. —50% Note (7) 2. Municipality —50% Note (1)	1. Some Provincial Governments may also participate financially with the municipality in the costs of acquisition and clear- ance 2. Standards employed in assess- ing degree of blight are to be detailed 3. NHA Sec. 16. Rental housing financed by loan to Limited Dividend Company Sec. 19. Rental housing built by Life Insurance Com- pany Sec. 36. Rental housing built by a Federal Provincial partnership. Subsidized if nec- essary 4. The layout of streets, the various types of building and open spaces are to be shown but detailed plans and specifi- cations are not required at this stage 5. The municipalities must have the necessary statutory author- ity for acquisition of land, for demolition and for the munici- palities' part in redevelopment 6. If non-competitive sale is rec- ommended, the reasons for the recommendation must be de- tailed 7. The Federal Government shares in the revenue of sale, lease or other disposal of land, in the same proportions as its contribution to the cost

The table indicates in some detail the action to be taken by a municipality to secure the benefits of those sections of the National Housing Act relating to urban renewal. Any urban renewal action, be it redevelopment, conservation of buildings or rehabilitation of buildings, is dependent upon a thorough comprehensive study. The table shows that two types of study can be made. An urban renewal study is used to examine either the whole municipality or very large comprehensive areas of the municipality such as, for example, the central business district and its immediate residential surroundings. The urban redevelopment study on the other hand is intended to be used in the examination of specific areas of blight, either as a means of formulating a program of action to eliminate blight or as a means of assembling the mass of data which has to be provided by the municipality in support of application to acquire and clear land for redevelopment under Section 23 of the Act. Because the mass of data required in support of such applications is both difficult and relatively costly to assemble, provision is made for Federal approval in principle to be sought by a municipality if it so wishes.

The table illustrates the different type of application needed for Federal approval in principle and for formal Federal approval. It is hoped that the table will be of value not only to planners and others responsible for urban renewal but also to councillors and laymen interested in renewal activity through the medium of civic organizations.

It must be emphasized that the information given in the table is generalized and may need adaptation to the requirements of each particular application. It is suggested therefore that municipalities should seek the advice of the local representative of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation on their individual applications. Furthermore, the table relates only to action under the National Housing Act. In some provinces, action on urban renewal under provincial legislation is possible, and in the case of each application the advice of the responsible department of the Provincial Government should be obtained.

This table has been prepared by the Community Planning Association of Canada. A leaflet reproducing the table, together with relevant excerpts from The National Housing Act may be obtained from CPAC, 77 MacLaren Street, Ottawa 4.



Detailed model of part of one of the residential strips in the proposed linear town.

Maquette détaillée d'une partie d'une des bandes résidentielles dans la ville linéaire proposée.

PROJECT FOR A LINEAR NEW TOWN

by Mayer Hillman

The ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL has kindly permitted us to reprint this article by Mr. Hillman which appeared in its issue of April 4, 1957. It describes a project for a new town prepared by a group of students of the Town Planning Department of University College, London, England.

It is generally agreed that the time has come to reconsider the principles and practices followed in the planning of the new towns, as outlined in the *New Towns Act, 1946*, and as executed in Harlow, Crawley, Stevenage and elsewhere. Some of the points criticised are as follows:

Sprawl and long journeys—resulting from low density.

Lack of physical cohesion—due to the demarcation of neighbourhoods and the splitting of land uses.

Lack of social cohesion—due to the unbalanced population.

Absence of character and architectural unity—as in suburbs or company villages for factory employees.

Egocentricity—the towns have no relation to their region, nearby towns or the National Transport system.

Psychological discomfort of the road pattern—this is caused by lack of order, danger to pedestrians and the inevitable noise and fumes.

The design prepared by J. B. Lehrman and myself presupposes as a solution to decentralization from an overcrowded city, the creation of small towns of populations between 60,000 and 100,000 persons. Each of these has the form of a natural town with its own sources of labour and wealth. It is deliberately designed to attract people and to have a fertile social and cultural life. This would require the integration of industrial and cultural functions, as in the marriage of industry and education in Oxford, or the specialized industry of Wycombe.

The proposed town is designed as a centre of national importance. It has a university for aeronautical and agricultural research. This should bring a slightly higher proportion of professional and technical workers which would stimulate cultural and communal activity, a *sine*

qua non of a living town. To achieve a balanced stationary population, a fast rate of development would be needed so that there would have to be an incentive in the way of Government subsidies for certain age groups. The population is 60,000.

In an age dominated by the internal combustion engine, this design has consciously envisaged a pedestrian town, whose size and high density would allow an adequate communal life within walking distance. It implies the disestablishment of the neighbourhood concept, in favour of a single effective town centre. Yet the town acknowledges the need for the convenience and close proximity of roads and parking spaces. To preserve compactness, the playing fields have been placed on the edge of the town.

As in the Greek colonies, the imposition of a geometrical plan on an irregular site has been used to create an order without rigidity. Some free zoning, such as the provision of light industry in the residential areas, has been allowed for convenience and variety.

MASTER PLAN

In choosing the site, one area seemed to be particularly suitable. Firstly, it is adjacent to a trunk road and railway linking industrial centres. Secondly, the site possesses special physical characteristics: these are a ridge for the linear development of the central area, a hill to the north for the University centre, and flat ground, adjacent to the main road and railway, at right-angles to the ridge, suited for a linear development for the industrial area. Thirdly, it is an area of woodland in poor farm land.

The master plan has the following arrangement—a linear central area and 12 linear residential strips, six running north and six south of the centre. Each strip is three-quarters of a mile long and 750 feet wide. The comprehensive schools and most open space are concentrated in a girdle around the town.

The radius of the town is 1 mile. The overall town density is 35 persons to the acre. The residential area density is 65 persons to the acre (on the basis of one person per habitable room). The town covers 1,710 acres.

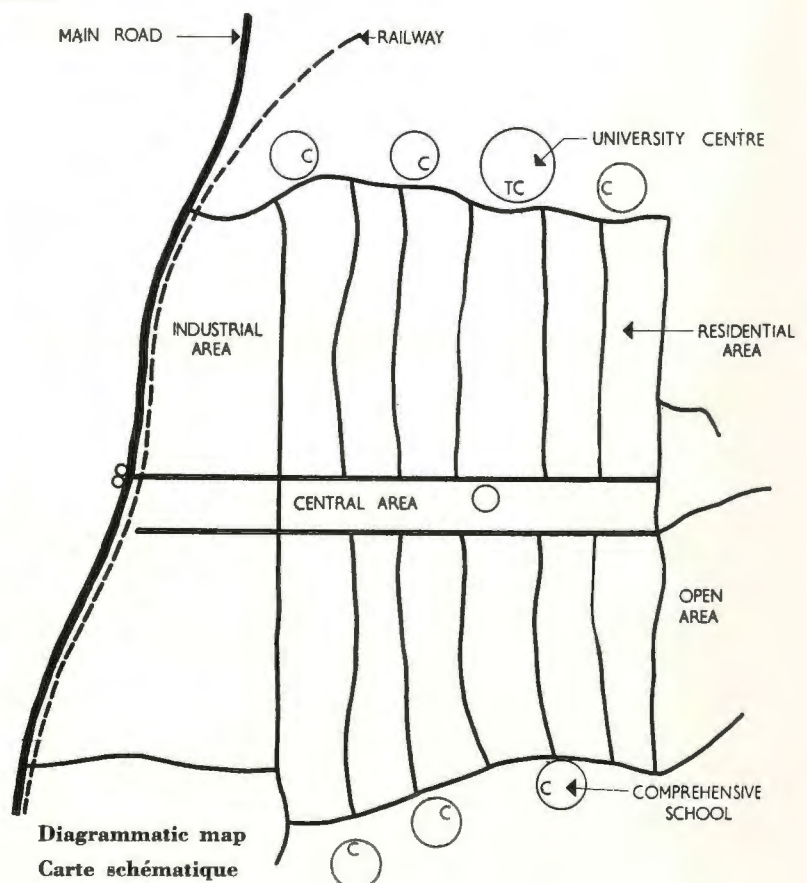
Industry	220 acres
Commercial and central	90 acres
Residential	920 acres
Comprehensive schools	240 acres
Open space	240 acres

(The standard recommended by the New Towns Committee, 12 persons per acre overall, would require 5,000 acres for a town of 60,000 inhabitants.)

RESIDENTIAL AREA

Twelve linear residential strips accommodate 5,000 people each, to support a primary school. Inside each strip is a pedestrian path and cycle way, in the form of a parkway. Only the surface of these routes would define their functions. The parkway which is at times paved, at times grassed, leads from the comprehensive schools on the edge of the town to the central area without, at any time, crossing a vehicular route. Along this way, at intervals, are crèches, tennis courts, games areas, small shops, a local shopping centre with the primary school adjacent and small factories and workshops at the end of some of the culs de sac. These are for small industrial enterprises which can employ women part-time. They would also help to give life and character to what so often prove to be dull residential areas in existing New Towns. All houses are of two/three storeys and all flats of seven storeys, except the 11-storey block pinpointing the small shopping centre in each strip. Seventy per cent of the dwellings have garages. These are sited on either side of the culs de sac, at no point more than 150 feet from any dwelling.

The whole design is inverted to focus on the parkway.



PROJECT FOR A LINEAR NEW TOWN



Above: one of the main residential squares, contained in one of the linear residential strips (right). Sketch by Barbara Bienias.

Au-dessus: un des principaux quartiers résidentiels compris dans une des bandes linéaires résidentielles (à droite). Croquis par Barbara Bienias.

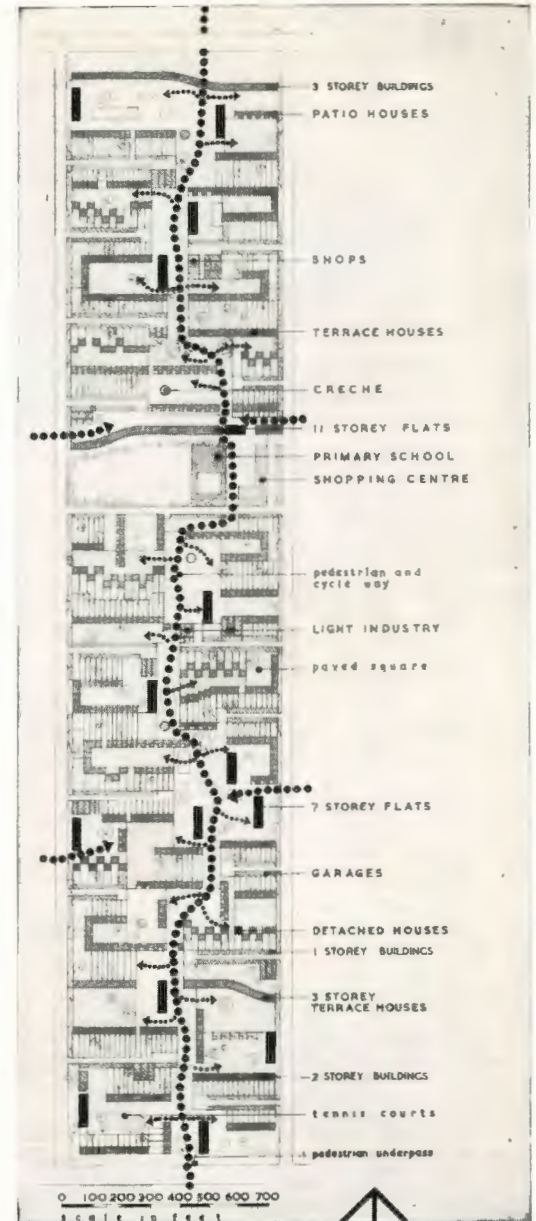
The visual effect aimed at is one of progression, past squares of various shapes, sizes and colours with the direction to and from the central area accented by the tall flat blocks.

The size of the gardens varies in depth from the courtyard of the patio house to the medium size (30-70 feet) of the terrace house to that of the largest detached house which would be up to 100 feet deep.

The density is 65 rooms to the acre. Forty-five per cent of the dwellings are flats and 55 per cent are houses. These proportions are based on the age structure to be aimed at, in Ruth Glass's opinion, in the development of new residential areas, namely: Age 0-14 21.6 per cent, working age group 62.3 per cent, and old people 16.1 per cent. This compares with the age distribution of immigrants into Crawley, namely: Age 0-14 32.5 per cent, and adults 67.5 per cent.

CENTRAL AREA

A linear development along the ridge serves all residential areas. The commercial west side is integrated in design with the industrial area. It incorporates the railway and bus depots, warehouses, craft workshops and their showrooms. It is linked to the main area



by the offices, restaurants and tiers of seats of the town stadium. The sports centre overlooks the lake, whose north edge is crossed by the main road from the bypass. Office, entertainment, and shopping centres lie between here and the civic centre. They are arranged around informal squares of various sizes along the central pedestrian way. Shops and department stores have service access from car parks behind them. The civic centre on the highest point of the town adjoins the town park. On its north side is an arcade of shops, studios and restaurants which leads to the quieter part of the central area. Here there is a technical college, offices, and another shopping centre. The pedestrian way terminates at the hospital.

Pedestrians and vehicles are segregated, allowing the former to move freely throughout the central area. Cyclists use the cycle way on the inner edge of the main road round the central area. Substantial parking space has been allowed to provide for 3,000 vehicles. It is distributed throughout the central area. Should the need arise for further expansion, this space could be developed for building providing that at least an equivalent area was formed below ground.

The buildings are standardized at a height of 3 to 4 storeys with the exception of the 5 office blocks of 13 storeys accenting the pedestrian way and the town hall and hospital of 10 storeys.

As in the residential areas, the development is focused inwards onto the pedestrian way.

INDUSTRIAL AREA

The form of development in the industrial area is a linear growth adjacent to the main road and rail arteries so that goods can be delivered and taken away without disturbing the other activities of the town. The density is 60 persons to the acre for the 12,000 industrial population. As in Garnier's *cité industrielle* it is separated from the main urban area by a park, in this case linear, acting not only as a buffer between the industrial and residential areas but also providing in all cases, close at hand, a recreation space for the working population. It should be noted that small industrial enterprises are to be allowed to develop in the residential areas.

OPEN SPACE

Most of the open space is sited to preserve the compactness of the town. In view of the high density, the size of the town and the nature of the residential areas, it is felt that the linear parkway and the town park are sufficient open space for the population.

The large recreation areas for both the comprehensive school and the adult population are sited outside the peripheral town road where they can be integrated in the countryside.

COMMUNICATIONS

The separation of pedestrian and motor traffic is one of the governing factors in the design of the town.

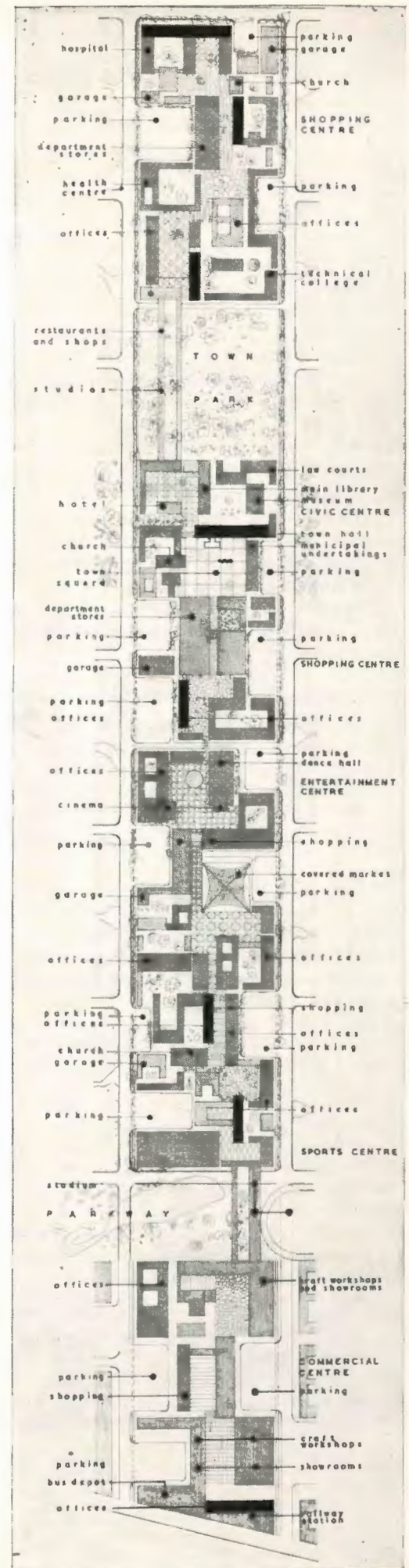
This has been achieved by conforming to the strict linear development which allows a grid-iron road and pedestrian way pattern to be superimposed on each other.

One residential area is illustrated on the diagram on the page opposite.

This arrangement permits an uninterrupted movement for everybody in any particular strip along its whole length, a journey of no more than 10-12 minutes, making most journeys worthwhile on foot. Yet, culs de sac are not more than 150 feet from any dwelling

The Central Area Plan.

Le plan de la zone centrale.



and the 40 foot motor roads leading to the central area or out of the town are no more than 400 feet from any point in the strip. There are no pavements to these roads. There are cross pedestrian and cycle ways with underpasses at the roads linking adjacent strips and a pedestrian way along the central area.

The passenger railway is of a minor importance in this self-sufficient town. The station is at the western tip of the central area.

An attempt has been made to achieve the character of a city in the old Greek sense by a synthesis of building and open space which would promote community spirit and provide an orderliness sorely lacking in the New Towns. This order has been created by tying together the different areas of the town by (1) orientation, (2) accentuation of pedestrian ways, (3) standardization of building heights, (4) the creation of a pattern of terrace and detached houses, (5) three-storey terrace slabs running east to west—used to link the residential strips visually. On the periphery these terrace slabs define distinctly the boundary of the town.

The plan has been conceived in all its detail as an architectural unity with a truly urban environment.

Projet d'une nouvelle ville linéaire

Sommaire de l'article de M. Hillman

Ce projet fut préparé par un groupe d'étudiants du Département de l'urbanisme de l'University College de Londres. Son but est de remédier aux déficiences qui se rencontrent dans les villes nouvelles, aménagées en vertu du NEW TOWNS ACT de 1946, comme par exemple Harlow, Crawley, Stevenage et autres. Quelques unes de ces déficiences sont les suivantes:

- (1) extension désordonnée et longs trajets—résultats d'une faible densité de population;
- (2) manque de cohésion physique—dû à la délimitation trop brutale des unités de voisinage;
- (3) manque d'unité sociale—dû à un peuplement socialement mal équilibré;
- (4) manque de caractère et d'unité architecturale—comme dans les banlieues ou villes fermées (company towns) pour les employés de manufactures;
- (5) égocentrisme—les villes n'ont aucun rapport logique avec la région avoisinante, avec les villes voisines ou avec le système de transport national;
- (6) malaise psychologique du réseau routier—attribuable au manque d'ordre, aux dangers pour les piétons et aux nuisances de bruits et de fumées découlant fatalement de la congestion.

Le projet préconisé est conçu pour l'avantage des piétons et vise à créer une ville, laquelle, par son étendue, sa forte densité et ses distances raisonnables, permet une vie communale convenable. Il implique la substitution d'un centre urbain unique au concept des unités de voisinage.

Le plan directeur prévoit une zone centrale linéaire et 12 bandes résidentielles linéaires, 6 au nord et 6 au sud du centre. Chaque bande mesure $\frac{3}{4}$ de mille de longueur et 750 pieds de largeur. La plupart des espaces libres, y compris les écoles, entourent la ville comme une ceinture. Chacune



A complete linear strip. The actual line of roads would be determined by siting and landscaping conditions.

Une bande linéaire complète. L'alignement actuel des routes serait déterminé par des conditions de terrain et de paysage.

des 12 bandes résidentielles linéaires loge 5000 personnes, ce qui justifie l'établissement d'une école primaire. À l'intérieur de chaque bande se trouvent un chemin pour les piétons et une piste cyclable formant une avenue-parc, sur laquelle l'ensemble du projet est axé. Il en résulte un effet visuel de progression et de mouvement, en passant d'un quartier à l'autre, chacun d'un modèle différent et de couleurs et dimensions variées. Cet effet est accentué par la présence de gros édifices plats.

Dans la zone centrale, lieu des activités commerciales et industrielles, il y a ségrégation des piétons et des véhicules, de sorte que les piétons peuvent circuler librement dans toute cette zone. La zone industrielle est un développement linéaire séparé de la zone urbaine principale par un parc, lequel, en plus d'agir comme tampon entre l'industrie et la résidence, sert d'endroit de récréation pour les employés. Le plan a été conçu dans tous ses détails comme une unité architecturale d'un milieu vraiment urbain.

NATIONAL HOUSING POLICY

A Memorandum prepared

by the Vancouver Housing Association

PRIVATE BUILDING FOR SALE

Credit restrictions have hit the housing industry with particular severity because it is financed largely from sources under effective governmental control. Some restrictions on credit have no doubt been necessary, but steps must be taken to see that an industry so vital to the health and prosperity of the nation receives its fair share of new capital investment. Adequate funds must, in particular, be made available to those areas where population growth is most rapid, if necessary by direct Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation loans where conventional sources do not provide a sufficient supply.

Means must also be found of making funds more readily available for genuinely low cost housing. In 1956, only 13 percent of N.H.A. loans were for under \$9,000. The *average* cost of homes financed during the first quarter of 1957 was \$14,434 and the purchasers' average income was \$5,615. By no stretch of the imagination can much of this construction be termed low cost housing. In the scramble for the limited funds available, the family of even moderate income is under a considerable disadvantage, since loans on larger houses to higher income borrowers are usually considered better risks, besides being cheaper to administer. A possible solution would be to place some upper limit on the value of houses eligible for N.H.A. loans, since builders of more expensive homes should have less difficulty in financing their requirements by conventional means.

The down-payments required under the N.H.A. may be compared with those required under the Housing Act recently passed by the United States Congress. Under the N.H.A., a borrower is required to put up 10 percent of the first \$8,000 of lending value and 30 percent of the balance (up to a loan limit of \$12,800). Under the American Act, the borrower is only required to put up 3 percent of the first \$10,000, 15 percent of the next \$6,000 and 30 percent of the balance. This means that on a house with a lending value of \$10,000, plus, say, \$2,000 for land, the Canadian borrower would have to put up \$2,000, while the American borrower would only need to find \$600.

In actual fact, of course, the lending value is seldom equal to the actual cost of the house and land, and the borrower must put up the whole of the difference. Thus, if in 1956, the estimated actual cost of N.H.A.-financed houses averaged 15 percent more than their lending value. On this basis, the Canadian borrower

would have to put up not \$2,000 but \$3,800, or 28 percent of the total cost. Excessively low down-payments merely encourage families without adequate resources to attempt home ownership, and Canadian down-payment requirements would probably be adequate if the lending value corresponded closely with the actual cost. This, however, is very far from the case today and some adjustment in lending values appears to be required.

Still more important over a long term is the cost of housing to the purchaser. If taxes and an allowance for maintenance and other expenses are added to the instalments on a \$10,000 N.H.A. loan the total charges will not be far short of \$100 a month (excluding heating costs): no small sum for a family of moderate means to take on for 25 years.

In order to qualify for an N.H.A. loan of \$10,000, the borrower must have an income of not less than \$4,500 per year. In 1951, only 7½ percent of wage earner heads of families earned more than \$4,000 per year. Even allowing for the increase in earnings since that date, it is clear that the great majority of wage-earner families cannot hope to buy a new house, whether or not they have the necessary down-payment.

There appears to be little likelihood of building costs coming down. Construction costs in the United States have risen since the war by an average of 6 percent per year compounded, as compared with an average annual rise of 4 percent in per capita disposable income. The trend in Canada has no doubt been very similar.

The cost of land has risen in recent years more sharply still. The average cost of building lots financed under the N.H.A. in 1956 was \$2,041. Part of this rise represents a scarcity value resulting from the shortage of serviced land, with builders being required to instal their own services to an increasing extent. Perhaps the best we can hope to do is to check increased land costs to some extent by (a) careful siting and designing of residential subdivisions and (b) making low-cost money available to financially weak municipalities for the provision of utility services.

The other major cost factor is interest on capital. This is the one factor over which the government can exercise a direct influence. If interest rates remain at a high level, there may well be a good case for easing the burden on the home buyer and at the same time broadening the housing market by making N.H.A. money available at lower rates of interest. This could

be achieved by reverting to the former N.H.A. plan of joint CMHC—lending company loans, with low cost government funds reducing the interest rate to the borrower, while permitting the lending companies to earn a return sufficient to attract the necessary funds into the housing field. This system provides a flexible control over the cost and quantity of housing finance and could be utilized to iron out the violent and wasteful fluctuations in house production which have characterized this industry since the war.

MODERATE RENTAL HOUSING

We have noted that even in good times, such as the present, only a small percentage of families can afford to buy a new house. Of the remainder, those families who possess a fair sum of cash may be able to purchase a second-hand house, though, in such cases second mortgages, with discounts ranging up to 30 or 40 percent, will often be required. This makes for pretty expensive housing.

The large number of younger families starting out in life, who cannot afford to buy a house of any sort, must find what accommodation they can (a) in houses which, more often than not, are only rented because they will not sell or because they are being held for speculative purposes, (b) in suites in converted houses, often in basements, or (c) in cheap apartment houses entirely unsuitable for children.

For the family with young children, the lack of decent rental housing is particularly serious, since few landlords, except those with the poorest accommodation, will accept children willingly and it is just this type of family for whom good environment is most important.

A good proportion of these families could afford to rent new accommodation built without subsidy, if it were financed with low cost government money. The failure to promote construction of any substantial amount of such housing has unquestionably been the biggest weakness in government housing policy since the war.

The experience of the last seven years has shown clearly that we cannot rely on municipalities to initiate the construction of an adequate supply of public low or moderate rental housing. It is, in any case, very doubtful whether reliance should be placed exclusively on public authorities for the provision of this type of housing.

With the possible exception of Quebec (and apart from the operations of a single builder in two of the prairie provinces), the quantity of private moderate rental housing suitable for families with children built in Canada since the war has been negligible. Section 16 of the N.H.A., which makes low cost government funds available to limited dividend housing corporations for moderate rental housing, has remained largely a dead letter as far as family housing is concerned, for the

simple reason that it relies primarily on semi-charitable funds to provide the equity capital required. A large scale program cannot be developed on such a foundation.

Other types of privately sponsored organizations must therefore be developed for this purpose, and only the Federal Government can provide the necessary financial inducements. The Vancouver Housing Association submitted a plan to the former government which would have utilized funds put up by the tenants themselves for part of the equity financing (while retaining control by the sponsoring group), but it was not accepted.

The insurance companies are presumably unlikely to return to the rental housing field, but there are other types of organizations, such as the credit unions, which have an increasing volume of funds seeking investment. The precise form of financing employed to handle the job is unimportant, provided the housing is built, and we hope that the new government will give early consideration to this important aspect of housing policy.

If the Federal Government fails to generate the necessary volume of privately-financed moderate rental housing, it may ultimately find itself obliged to provide this housing itself.

SENIOR CITIZENS HOUSING

The problem of housing elderly people is one of exceptional magnitude in British Columbia; but, with increasing longevity, it is one which will have to be faced to an increasing extent by urban communities throughout Canada.

Some Provincial Governments give financial assistance to private non-profit societies building this type of accommodation, but even where this is available—and in many cases it is not—the assistance given is usually insufficient to bring rents down to a level within the means of the pensioner, and particularly the single pensioner for whom the greater proportion of such housing is required.

If the Federal Government were to match provincial grants up to a given percentage of the capital cost, the inevitable delays involved in raising large sums of money from charitable sources would be avoided and an effective program of private housing for senior citizens could be developed throughout the country. Alternatively, lower interest rates than those at present obtainable under section 16 of the National Housing Act might be made available to non-profit societies in order to assist in reducing their rents.

While any increase in the basic pension will naturally be of assistance to our senior citizens, we believe that the relatively small sum required to subsidize an adequate housing program for this group, whether by public authorities or by private societies, would do much more to help those living independently (who stand in most need of assistance) than an equivalent sum allocated to increase the basic pension. This is doubly true if, as

must often happen, a good proportion of the pension increase is absorbed by higher rents. Assuming that the government subsidy required to house pensioners at rents within their means is \$150 per person per year, the cost of a one dollar per month increase in the basic pension would finance a program for 60,000 persons.

In the larger cities, public housing for old people will almost certainly also have to be provided, since private societies can seldom cope alone with the size of program required. The last government established a requirement that not more than 20 percent of units in any public housing project should be allocated to pensioners. While it is no doubt undesirable to build large projects housing a single age group, there could surely be no objection to small projects specifically designed for old people located in a number of different neigh-

bourhoods. This illogical restriction should be removed at once, since few municipalities are prepared to initiate the large volume of family housing which would be required under this formula in order to meet the housing needs of their senior citizens.

The present restrictions on the admission to public housing projects of ordinary families in receipt of social allowance, whose income falls below a certain figure, should also be removed and the necessary safeguards against the assumption by the Federal Government of social costs which are rightly the responsibility of the provinces exercised rather through a minimum limit on rents in such projects. No group of the population should be excluded from the possibility of securing decent housing merely on the grounds of inadequate income.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) **Housing credit.** The sharp impending increase in the rate of family formation, combined with a high rate of immigration, calls for immediate steps by the government to increase the volume of housing credit, particularly in those areas where growth is most rapid, if a serious housing shortage is not to develop.

(2) **Low cost housing for sale.** Loans should be made more readily available for minimum-cost housing through an upward adjustment in lending values and through steps to prevent too high a proportion of available funds being absorbed by more expensive housing.

(3) **Rate of interest on N.H.A. loans.** The inability of families to meet the high instalments on housing loans is an even more serious impediment to home ownership than the down payment required. The rate of interest on N.H.A. loans needs to be reduced, if necessary by a return to joint CMHC-lending company loans.

(4) **Moderate Rental Housing.** There is a chronic shortage of moderate rental housing, because no private institutions are organized to build this type of housing in Canada. Moderate rental housing could be built in quantity without subsidy under section 16 of the N.H.A., if steps were taken to utilize capital contributions by prospective tenants or to tap the growing surplus funds of institutions such as the Credit Unions.

(5) **Senior Citizens' Housing.** Greater federal financial assistance is required for senior citizens' housing, preferably through a system of matching grants to the provinces. Funds spent on housing for this group would yield much greater benefits than a similar sum expended in raising the basic pension.

(6) **Admissions to Public Housing.** Existing restrictions on the admission of senior citizens and other low-income families to public housing should be removed. No group should be excluded from the possibility of securing adequate housing merely on the ground of age or inadequate income.

THE HOUSING SITUATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA TODAY

In spite of the highest rate of housing completions on record, the situation in B.C. deteriorated steadily throughout the latter part of 1956. Based on Provincial Government estimates for the year 1955-56, we estimate that a population increase in B.C. during the calendar year 1956 was well over 60,000, representing a need for, say, not less than 18,000 housing units. During this period 15,000 units were completed. The apparent shortage of 3,000 units takes no account of the considerable number of dwellings demolished and closed during the year.

At the end of last year, we had hardly begun to feel the effects of the drop in residential building resulting from credit restrictions and the greatly increased rate of immigration taking place this year. If estimates for Canada are borne out in B.C. and housing completions drop 20% this year while immigration rises 30%, the short-fall of completions in relation to population increase (assuming that net immigration from other provinces remains at the 1956 level) will rise to 7,500 units in 1957.

The situation will be aggravated by a number of other factors. The rate of family formation in Canada, which had been dropping in the four previous years, rose sharply in 1956. With the large influx of immigrants of marriageable age and the tapering off in the effects of the low birth rate of the 30's, this reversal of trend is likely to continue. In addition, the birth rate remains at a high level.

Owing to the high level of general construction, demolition of older buildings in multiple occupancy has been heavy. In 1956, several thousand persons were displaced by this process in the City of Vancouver alone and the same is true of other large cities. Much of this accommodation housed pensioners and other low income families. Urban renewal plans will eliminate further low cost accommodation.

After the war, the conversion of large numbers of older buildings to multiple occupancy acted as a safety valve when the explosion of family population, brought about by the return of the veteran, took place. There remain relatively few buildings which are still suitable for conversion and this means of relieving the pressure is no longer available.

Owing to our more rapid rate of growth, the housing situation in B.C. is probably even more serious than in most other provinces. Within the next two or three years, however, we can expect a considerable increase in the rate of family formation, not only in B.C. but throughout Canada, and it is by no means too early to start planning for it now.

PLANNING FOR PEOPLE

A Concept of Rural-Urban Regions

by John F. Kinzel

We are becoming urbanized in a hurry. Of the two million new noses counted in Canada's 1956 Census, 92 per cent were in cities or towns of 1,000 population and up. Two-thirds of all Canadians now live in these urban communities.

By and large, this postwar move to the cities caught us unprepared. And now we're running to keep from slipping backward. Water supplies, sewage disposal systems, housing developments, recreation facilities, schools and many other services have had to be expanded enormously to accommodate new thousands each year. Many urban municipalities have solved one emergency only to find themselves faced with a new one. Costs have compounded faster than new resources could be uncovered, and capital borrowing has increased rapidly.

MANY PROBLEMS ARE RURAL-URBAN

It is not surprising, then, that we have tended to regard the need for planning as something peculiarly associated with urban expansion. The obvious differences between rural and urban problems, the separation between rural and urban local government jurisdictions, and the urgency of extending urban facilities have succeeded in splitting our vision. Preoccupied with our special problems, we have lost sight of the many common interests which are shared by the residents of an urban

centre and by those who live in its rural area of influence.

What are some of today's problems where this community of interest is evident?

First of all, consider the physical expansion of urban centres. Urban dispersal may take one or more of several forms: gradual encroachment on the surrounding rural land, encirclement of non-urban territory, radial penetration along main highways, or "leapfrogging". Industrial decentralization, which is becoming steadily more prominent, contributes to the dispersal of population and creates special problems of its own. In a few cases, urban dispersal may be systematically planned as a green belt development.

The Author

Mr. Kinzel is a journalist by profession, with a B.A. from the University of Washington and a varied background of experience, including that of a radio news editor and writer. He served on a state-wide survey of recreational resources in the State of Washington in 1946-47. In January, 1955, he joined the secretariat of Saskatchewan's Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life. He is now employed in the research division of the Economic Advisory and Planning Board of the Province of Saskatchewan and resides in Regina.

There can be little argument that cities and towns must have room to expand. But in our approach to the planning problem we have tended to overlook the fact that "rurban" transition involves rural as well as urban adjustments. For example, one technique which is extensively applied in "rurban" areas is agricultural zoning. But agricultural zoning has been used almost exclusively as a tool for urban land use—a means of controlling undesired urban development. A parcel so zoned may or may not be an economic farm unit. The zoning may or may not be permanent enough to justify certain kinds of intensive agricultural development. As pointed out by Ernest A. Engelbert, *Land-Use Planning for 'Rurban' Areas*, (FARM POLICY FORUM, Winter 1957), the role of agriculture in "rurban" land use deserves considerably more study than it has received thus far.

Countless problems encountered in urban expansion require joint rural-urban planning. The question of zoning outside urban limits is one such problem. The location of industries on rural land well outside the jurisdiction of the neighbouring town or city where workers live is another. "Leapfrogging" suburban communities create demands for access routes of high standard through non-urban territory—demands which rural jurisdictions are not prepared to meet. Nearly every aspect of the problem of "urban spread" affects rural as well as urban interests.

No urban centre can be self-contained. It must seek its water supply outside the city gates. Usually it must dispose of its waste products in the rural area. Certainly its people must be fed from farms, near or far. Many of its people earn their living as handlers or processors of farm products or as suppliers of farm production needs. Similarly, the farmer is directly dependent on the urban centre to market his produce, to provide and service his equipment and to supply his many needs as producer and consumer. In this sense, urban and rural people are closely interdependent.

The need for joint rural-urban planning has not gone unrecognized. Nearly every expanding urban centre of any size has attempted to set up some kind of machinery in conjunction with the surrounding rural jurisdiction to deal with mutual planning problems. But such efforts have not been uniformly successful. In the first place, such arrangements are almost invariably and necessarily informal, with final action depending upon ratification by the separate jurisdictions. In the second place, the relationship is frequently one-sided, since very few units of rural local government have planning resources of their own. Finally, it frequently occurs that the urban centre must deal with not one but two or more rural jurisdictions to embrace the area necessary for planning purposes.

And, while the need for urban planning is receiving much attention, co-ordinated planning in our rural areas is no less urgent. City dwellers have no corner on

problems. The same forces which are concentrating our people in urban areas are throwing life out of joint in farming communities.

TENDENCY TOWARD AN URBAN-CENTRED LIFE

For rural people (in the Canadian West at any rate) the past two decades have been years of continual social and economic adjustment. A rapidly advancing farm technology has meant substantial increases in the output per unit of farm labour. Farm size has increased rapidly. As a result, some farm families have higher incomes; many others are forced to leave farming and migrate to cities and towns. In many areas traditional rural neighbourhoods have disappeared entirely.

At the same time, farming is becoming less of a distinct way of life and assuming more of the attributes of other commercial enterprises. Greater commercialization means less self-sufficiency. The impact of higher incomes, mass communication, and the automobile has had a distinct urbanizing effect on farm values. The habits and attitudes of farm families are becoming less distinguishable from those of urban families. The social and economic focus of farm living is becoming centred on the nearby urban community.

(continued on next page)

L'urbanisme pour l'homme: un concept de régions rurales-urbaines

Sommaire de l'article de M. Kinzel

M. Kinzel démontre que nous avons associé le besoin d'urbanisme à l'expansion urbaine. Cependant, d'innombrables problèmes relatifs à l'expansion urbaine relèvent d'un urbanisme réellement rural-urbain. La question du zonage en dehors des limites urbaines constitue un de ces problèmes. L'établissement d'industries dans un territoire rural complètement en dehors de la juridiction de la ville voisine, où demeurent les employés, en représente un autre. Les développements suburbains en "saute-mouton" nécessitent des routes d'accès très élaborées, à travers un territoire non urbanisé. C'est là une exigence que les autorités rurales ne sont pas prêtes à rencontrer. Presque tous les aspects du problème de "l'expansion urbaine" affectent les intérêts à la fois ruraux et urbains.

On a besoin d'urbanisme afin d'amortir les effets de la transition entre les activités rurales et les activités d'une nouvelle et grande communauté urbaine centralisée. On a besoin d'urbanisme afin d'améliorer et d'augmenter les services procurés aux citoyens ruraux—en rendant ces services comparables à ceux des centres urbains modernes. On a besoin d'urbanisme basé sur une coordination rurale-urbaine afin de lutter efficacement contre les problèmes ruraux-urbains de plus en plus nombreux.

M. Kinzel décrit enfin le travail de la Commission Royale sur l'Agriculture et la Vie Rurale visant à développer un concept de région rurale-urbaine—une région reposant sur des groupements réels créés par les citoyens concernés pour satisfaire leurs besoins économiques et sociaux de tous les jours.

Farm people are less content than they were to accept second class services: one room schools, impassable roads, inaccessible doctors and hospitals. At the same time, sparser population means higher per capita costs for nearly all rural services. A substantial number of farm families have sought individual solutions to these problems by taking up residence in urban centres near their farms. Where this has occurred, remaining farm residences are even more isolated. Even initially, the prairie farm settlement pattern was one of extreme dispersal. Depopulation has made that dispersal doubly extreme. The costs per farm of providing essential services such as roads and education have risen sharply because of this factor alone. Reinforcing this rise has been a steadily-growing demand for services of higher quality.

The need for intelligent rural planning is indeed urgent. Planning is needed to ease the transition of rural living to a new and larger urban-centred community. Planning is needed to improve and extend services to rural people—services comparable to those available in modern urban centres. Planning is needed on a co-ordinated rural-urban basis to contend with the growing list of mutual rural-urban problems.

LACK OF WORKABLE PLANNING AREAS

If the province of Saskatchewan is typical, we are ill-prepared to meet these planning needs. The ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE AND RURAL LIFE has recently completed a four-year study of a broad array of rural problems in that province. Its findings and recommendations, comprising over 3,000 pages in 14 volumes, cover subjects ranging from farm credit to the rural family. But throughout its investigation, the lack of facilities for rural planning, the lack of awareness of the need, and the lack of appropriate rural planning areas were matters of recurring concern. It devoted special attention to the problem of defining appropriate regions for rural planning and administration. And the regional concept which the Commission developed has important implications, not only for rural areas, but for urban centres as well.

Bibliographical Note

The ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE AND RURAL LIFE made its final submission to the Province of Saskatchewan in April, 1957, after more than four years study. Its findings are contained in 14 reports, 12 of which are now available in printed form. Most of the basic material in Mr. Kinzel's article is drawn from two reports: No. 4, RURAL ROADS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT; and No. 12, SERVICE CENTRES. Copies are available from the Queen's Printer, Legislative Building, Regina, at \$1.00 each. Summaries of the reports, including the Commission's conclusions and recommendations, are available from the same source free of charge.

The Commission's concern with defining rural-urban regions grew out of its appraisal of rural local government in Saskatchewan. It found a near-chaotic situation, characterized by:

(1) *A basic local government unit of inadequate size.* Although there is some variation, the typical rural municipal unit in Saskatchewan contains nine townships in an 18-mile square. This uniform small size creates some serious inefficiencies in planning and administering services. Small size means limited fiscal capacity, small population, and the absence of a meaningful planning area. In the provision of roads, for example, tax resources in most municipalities do not permit the purchase of modern efficient machinery; the small area precludes its economic use. Qualified supervisory personnel cannot be hired. Few local planning facilities exist and, in any case, road use is often oriented to points outside the municipality's jurisdiction.

(2) *A multiplicity of units.* In addition to almost 300 rural municipalities and some 500 incorporated urban centres, Saskatchewan has literally thousands of special purpose districts and quasi-governmental jurisdictions. These include school districts, consolidated school districts, larger school units, union hospital districts, health regions, municipal doctor plans, agricultural representative districts, and many, many more which fulfil some kind of local government function. Including them all, there is one such unit for every 130 people in the province.

(3) *Overlapping jurisdictions.* Most of the special purpose districts, which have been superimposed on the small rural municipal units, are larger and fail to conform to the municipal boundary lines. The resulting welter of overlapping boundaries makes integrated planning and administration practically impossible.

The historical explanation for this confusing situation is simple enough. Initially, rural municipalities were logically designed to provide very limited services in a horse and buggy age: dirt roads, minimum health and welfare services, and some agricultural services. School districts needed to be large enough only to supply population for a one-room school with a single teacher. What happened? Population began to thin out and at the same time people began to demand more and better services. Each new or expanded service failed to fit into the established rural municipal pattern. Rather than reorganize the basic structure to fit changing conditions, succeeding governments added new jurisdictions to meet each new situation. The resulting unwieldy structure resembles a building in which each floor has been constructed according to a different design and unique specifications.

WHAT IS A RATIONAL PLANNING AREA

It was obvious to the Commission that the situation demanded rather drastic reorganization. As a first step the Commission was faced with the fundamental task of

dividing the province into regions of appropriate size with appropriate boundaries. Certain criteria in establishing size were readily apparent: fiscal capacity, population, administrative efficiency, and so on. But where to draw the boundary lines? The settled portion of Saskatchewan is a reasonably homogeneous farming area with few natural boundaries and with few impediments to transportation, other than the condition of roads. What was the common denominator whereby the interrelated services of local government could be co-ordinated? What constituted a rational planning area for Saskatchewan's sparse and scattered rural population?

No single set of boundaries, of course, would be suitable to define all local government services and regional administrative functions. Some involve the administration and use of natural resources; here, boundaries and size are determined largely by the occurrence and use of the resource. Water users' districts would be one example; forestry administration another. Then there is a group of services which are oriented to consumers with dispersed consumption—such things as rural power, telephones and police protection. The location of boundaries and administrative centres for this kind of service are largely matters of technical necessity and administrative convenience.

In the third category are those services which are supplied more or less universally and which require consumption at a central point. These include some of the more important services typically assigned to local government agencies—such things as health, education and recreation. Roads become a vital adjunct to this group of services because of the mobility required for central consumption—bus routes for schools, access to doctors and hospitals and to municipal offices for the payment of taxes, and so on. These were the services which most concerned the Commission. They were services vital to the general welfare of people and they also exhibited the clearest need for co-ordination and integration.

THE TRADING AREA

The search for means to define an area of "natural association" which possessed a focal centre led the Commission to examine the urban centre and its trading area. The idea of a trading area is, of course, a familiar one. It has always been a preoccupation of retail merchants and is part of the stock-in-trade of market analysis. It defines a region, not in terms of geographic characteristics, cultural traits or typical economic activity, but rather in terms of economic interdependence. The trading area describes a pattern of association built on years of trial and error in the exchange of goods and services essential to our economic mode of life. If a farmer goes to Centre "X" to repair his equipment, buy his suits and play golf, why should he not go to the same centre to get hospital care, pay his taxes and educate his children?

The logic appeared inexorable. But to determine whether the trading area did in fact have the qualities necessary to define a meaningful region, the Commission conducted two field studies in widely separated areas of the province. In each of these field studies, farmers selected from a cross-section of location in the trading area of a medium-sized urban centre were interviewed. Detailed information was obtained on the economic and social relationship between the farm family and all the urban centres, large and small, which it visited. From these surveys, the Commission was able to construct the patterns of association for each area. Moreover it was able to gauge the effectiveness of the trading area as an organizing principle; to measure its economic and social meaning to the rural residents of the area. The result of these surveys offered strong confirmation to the validity of the Commission's concept.

THE SERVICE CENTRE PRINCIPLE

Although encouraged to proceed, the Commission soon faced a number of problems in attempting to apply the service centre principle:

(1) It was apparent that any given farm family was "attached" to several urban centres rather than one. Thus, the farmer markets his grain or buys his groceries in the hamlet closest to his farm. For other needs he travels farther to the village, the town or the city. The small centre performs certain functions within its small trading area. But the larger centre performs additional functions for residents of a wider area—including the residents of the smaller centres within its orbit. Out of well over a thousand centres of varying size in Saskatchewan, how was the Commission to determine which were the suitable centres and areas to define regions appropriate to the given public services?

(2) Regional boundaries must exhaust the area of the province. Did trading areas offer a reasonable basis for dividing the entire populated area?

(3) What about regional subdivisions? For some purposes sub-areas were necessary. Was there a basis in the organization of service centres for a rational subdivision of larger regional planning and administrative areas?

(4) The accepted method of defining an urban trading area—the market analysis technique—involved costly local surveys. Was there any alternative practical method for delineating trading areas?

The Commission pursued its analysis of these questions in a report on *Service Centres*. The study set out to do three things: (1) establish a basis for classifying service centres according to function; (2) examine the principles governing the location of service centres in an agricultural economy; and (3) test the applicability of the trade-centred community to the definition of regions through an actual analysis of service centres in a portion of the province.

Without attempting to deal here with some of the more complex and theoretical aspects of the *Service Centres* report, it is useful to examine some of the Commission's conclusions and their practical application.

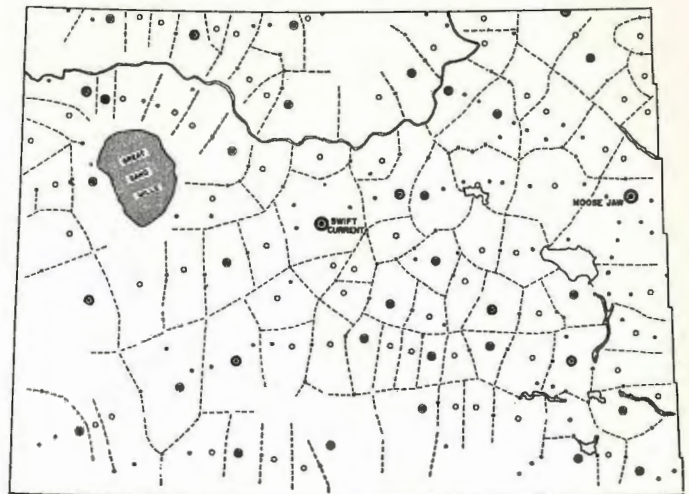
First of all, the Commission demonstrated that it is relatively easy and inexpensive to classify urban centres in the order of the functions they perform for the rural population. For its purposes, the Commission adopted a classification of six levels of centres, ranging from the crossroads hamlet to the provincial city. As a measure, the Commission counted the number of services—both commercial and public—which farmers and their families used in each centre. Centres with 2-10 services were designated Hamlets; those with 11-25 were called Villages; and so on. Additional classifications were Towns, Greater Towns, Cities and Provincial Cities. The range of services available was the key to the classification system.

In the course of this classification, it became apparent that each rank of centre was marked by certain characteristic services. Services for which the demand was universal and the required scale of operation small were found in centres of all sizes. In Saskatchewan's farming area, for example, every centre has at least a grain elevator and a general store. These are the minimum services characteristic of a hamlet, although most hamlets also have one or more of the following: post office, railway depot, one-room school, church.

The next higher rank of centre—the village—typically offers all the services available in hamlets. In addition, it has a new range of services such as lumber yard, fuel dealer, municipal office and telephone exchange. These services require a larger market for economic operation than hamlet services. The trading area of the village, therefore, is correspondingly larger and includes not only the farm population but the population of the hamlets which surround it.

For each succeeding rank, the progression is similar. The number of centres in the higher rank is smaller and the trading areas are larger. And each rank has its characteristic range of services which are seldom found in centres of lower rank.

With respect to the location of centres, the Commission found evidence to indicate that centres are distributed with reasonable uniformity throughout any populated agricultural area.* In Saskatchewan, the adherence of centres to rail lines disturbs the uniformity of distribution to a degree. The populated area, however,



First approximation of boundaries of Village-centred Service Areas in Southwestern Saskatchewan.

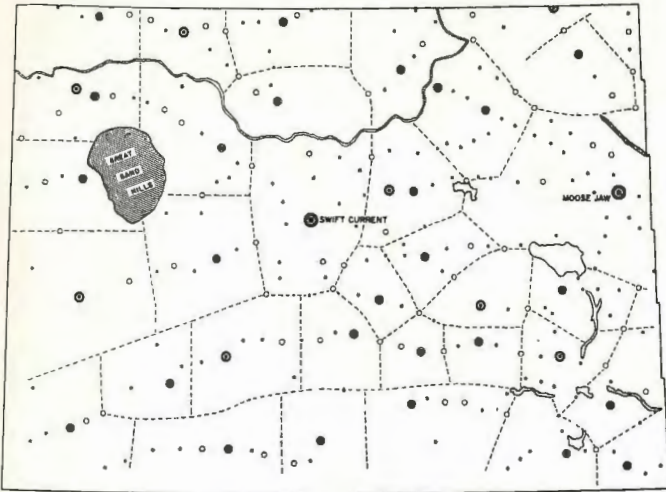
has a relatively dense network of rail lines; as a result, the "gaps" between trading areas are not of serious proportions. Generally speaking, the trading areas for any particular class of centre pretty well blanket the populated area.

It was also found that, by utilizing the tributary areas of two ranks of service centres, sub-regions could be delineated, although some compromises in boundaries were necessary to keep subsidiary regions wholly within the major region. Because of certain characteristics in centre location, it proved best to select alternate ranks of centres to define major regions and their subdivisions. The trading area of a Greater Town, for example, is most satisfactorily subdivided by Village trading areas rather than those of the intermediate Town. The reason for this is that Towns tend to straddle the border separating the trading areas of Greater Towns, while Villages tend to mark the limits of Town influence, and so on.

This latter characteristic proved extremely useful in developing a method for preliminary mapping of trading areas without resorting to costly local surveys. Between two adjacent Towns, for example, one will usually find a Village; between two Cities, a Greater Town. The Commission found evidence to support the thesis that trading area boundaries between two centres of a given rank are marked by the occurrence of a single centre of the next lower rank. By locating all such boundary markers, the general outline of trading areas can be derived.

In general, the Commission found that the trading area concept fulfilled its initial hopes as a sound method of approach to defining meaningful regions. In a detailed analysis of centres in Southwest Saskatchewan, it was able to rough out the approximate boundaries of trading areas for various ranks of centres without recourse to actual field surveys (see maps).

* The concept of centre location adopted by the Commission depends largely on theories advanced by Walter Christaller in explaining the location of central places in southern Germany. (See *Die Zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland*, Jena, Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1933.) The development and application of Christaller's theories in the Saskatchewan environment is the subject of a monograph: P. Woroby, *Functional Relationships Between Service Centres and the Farm Population*, unpublished thesis, University of Manitoba, 1957.



First approximation of boundaries of Town-centred Service Areas in Southwestern Saskatchewan.

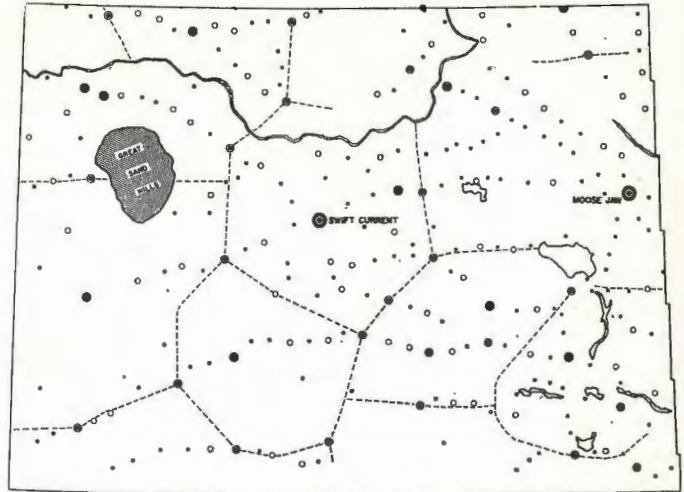
At the same time, the Commission makes no claims that boundaries located in this fashion can be considered final in any respect. They are only *first approximations*. In the first place, boundary lines in the above figures were drawn without detailed knowledge of local factors which might cause residents in the boundary areas to gravitate to one centre or the other. In any event, any final boundaries for administrative or planning purposes would need to be altered so as not to pass through smaller centres and their local trading areas. In the second place, the Commission points out that other factors such as fiscal capacity, population, administrative loads, and problems of co-ordination must be considered in establishing boundaries. The trading area is proposed only as a rational starting point in defining regions.

ADVANTAGES OF THE TRADING AREA

So much for the method developed by the Commission. What are some of the advantages of the trading area as a planning unit?

(1) *It defines an existing pattern of association of people for certain economic and social purposes.* It therefore lends itself to efficient organization for some of the more important public services. It defines boundaries (albeit in general terms) and locates the logical administrative centre for greatest convenience to the population being served. It provides the only sound orientation for planning local roads and contains the proper area for planning a local road network.

(2) *Because of the functional differences between ranks of service centres, trading areas provide the basis for integral tiers of major and minor planning areas.* Different levels of services and different levels of administration can be accommodated in an integrated system. Health services provide a good example here. General hospital care can be provided economically to a relatively small population, and minimum facilities need to be distributed widely to give adequate service. More



First approximation of boundaries of Greater Town-centred Service Areas in Southwestern Saskatchewan.

specialized hospital and diagnostic services, however, require a much larger population unit for economic operation. A two-tier arrangement composed of smaller trading areas contained within the larger area tributary to a City, provides the logical base for integrating two levels of service.

(3) *Because the trading area is oriented to its urban centre, it delineates the most suitable area for integrated rural-urban planning.* In attacking the problems of urban expansion, the trading area is the natural unit. It defines and includes satellite communities which attract suburban movement. It includes all the access routes to the major centre. It includes the rural population dependent on the centre for commercial services, public services and recreational and social activities. At the same time, it includes those nearby rural areas which the urban population uses for recreational activities. While it certainly does not solve all rural-urban planning problems, a unit based on the trading area nonetheless provides a framework with a minimum of structural handicaps.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING REGIONAL PLANNING

The Commission, of course, was primarily interested in defining regions appropriate to the requirements of rural local government. Its recommendations for the reorganization of local government in Saskatchewan embraced additional considerations, a number of which have implications for regional planning.

It was the Commission's conclusion that local government—in the sense of a single local authority with comprehensive responsibility—had practically ceased to exist in Saskatchewan. In its place was a series of separate and sometimes conflicting jurisdictions, each serving some segment of local needs. The rural municipal unit, once the mainstay of local government, was essentially left with two residual functions: construction

and maintenance of roads and collection of taxes. Health services were administered by hospital districts and health regions. Schools were administered by larger school units and school districts. Agricultural services were administered in a variety of ways: a few through municipal councils, some through special districts and others through relatively informal local arrangements. Other functions, once locally administered, were now in provincial hands. Jurisdiction had become so segmented that to identify any given rural area with a single responsible unit of local government was impossible.

The implications of this situation were far-reaching, in the Commission's view. The inability of citizens to fix local responsibility was contributing to an obvious decline in political participation and to a growth of apathy in rural areas. The lack of any comprehensive budgetary control over local rural expenditures was making long-term plans in the allocation of resources virtually impossible. The accurate determination of local tax load and tax carrying capacity was also out of the question. This, plus the very number of taxing authorities, made debenture financing difficult and costly. In addition, the inefficiencies and added costs involved in providing related services through unrelated jurisdictions were obviously high.

AIMS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION

The Commission's recommendations for a fundamental and sweeping reorganization of rural local government in Saskatchewan are directed towards the achievement of the following:

- (1) Coterminous planning and administrative areas of adequate size for a maximum number of local government functions. First priority is given to the functions of education and public works (roads).
- (2) Establishment of boundaries on the basis of trade-centred communities. This involves matching units of optimum size to trading areas of the appropriate rank of service centres.
- (3) Integration of the maximum number of functions under a single authority within the reorganized areas. The Commission favours the county form of

administration, with standing committees assigned to individual local government functions: education, public works, agriculture, social welfare, area planning, etc.

While the Commission made no firm recommendation in the matter, it also called attention to the need for integrated rural-urban jurisdiction over a greater number of functions. Particularly is this true in the case of Saskatchewan's small and middle-sized urban municipalities. The trend in education is toward integration of rural and urban school systems. Health services on an area basis often include both rural and urban residents. Certainly the joint rural-urban planning problems cited earlier would be immensely simplified if jurisdictional gaps were somehow bridged.

The Commission recognized that a number of difficulties stand in the way of achieving unified rural-urban jurisdiction. Land assessment as a tax base is not fully comparable in rural and urban areas. In the matter of political representation, rural residents hold some fears of urban dominance. And, despite the growing community of interest, certain aspects of local government are exclusively urban, others exclusively rural. Above all there are age-old prejudices and traditions to be broken down.

Nevertheless, the Commission proposed that careful study be made of incorporating villages and towns into the county system in Saskatchewan. The obstacles to this final step in integration may be more apparent than real.

In any event, the core of the Commission's approach to reorganizing and unifying local government in Saskatchewan is its concept of the rural-urban region—a region based on the patterns of association which people have built up to satisfy their day-to-day economic and social needs. How generally this concept may be applied remains to be seen. It appears to be particularly suited to Saskatchewan's problem: the definition of meaningful regions in an area characterized by relatively uniform agricultural development and by a system of service centres which evolved primarily to serve the rural population.



Photo: Prairie Flying Service

REVIEWS

First Things First

(From the Ivory Tower to the Outlook Tower)

City of Saint John Urban Renewal Study, 1956-57,
Georges Potvin, Director. City of Saint John, N.B. 101 pp.,
illus. \$1.00.

When about one-third of the houses in a city should be immediately torn down, the city fathers and planners are faced with no ordinary problem. The experts insist that planning is a continuous process; currently, many of our large cities are becoming excited about 'renewal' or 'redevelopment'. The Planner, if he is not intoxicated by these magic words, warns against the danger of believing that this is the whole story. Even without a formal plan or any special projects, redevelopment or renewal in most cities goes on at a steady pace. Every new shop-front, every new building which is razed, every structure which is erected, changes the city. For good or evil these things go on: our present concern is to steer them in the right direction.

But Saint John, N.B., is almost stagnant. Report after report lists the ominous increase in bad housing. Now 4,000 dwelling units out of 13,000 are fit only for the flame-thrower and the wrecker's yard.

Dangers of Renewal

Federal aid, available under the *National Housing Act 1954*, has allowed many cities to think of carrying out an Urban Renewal Study. Sometimes this piece of planning jargon is a substitute for clear thinking, and the public view is automatically directed to particular sites before their general importance has been assessed. It is wise, in the interests of all the people affected by these programs, to attack such dangerous attitudes. In Saint John, a whole series of events caused the present sad situation: the passing of the wooden ship; a most destructive fire (1877); the collapse of the lumber trade; seasonal harbour activity; relative isolation from the national market; and the general economic difficulty of the Maritimes. This is a situation which calls for a comprehensive approach—fortunately the team which produced the URBAN RENEWAL STUDY was led by a geographer. The emphasis on method throughout the study is significant and refreshing.

The Right Questions

The Saint John study insists that any approach to the problem of renewal must be comprehensive; it must seek principles for future action. The terms of reference have been stretched in the right direction, and it is good to see the report insisting on survey work before plans are prepared; stressing the need for a comprehensive long-range plan whose principles are maintained, and whose objectives are clear and understood.

If we are to solve problems of this type we must treat the causes. If one-third of a city is unfit for human habitation surely something is sadly wrong with that city. Surely



The Market Square in Saint John, seen across the head of Market Slip: "a valuable site recommended for eventual redevelopment".

there are regional forces at work which are in effect destroying the centre and inducing decay in the suburbs. Does this not lead us to question the attitudes, the economy, and the political housekeeping which have led to this state of affairs? Our sights shift rapidly from city to region, from region to nation.

The study is quick to point out that a weak economic base, inadequate city housekeeping, the lack of control over land use, and of positive direction to economic changes, all contributed to this decay. The apparent need, it says in effect, is for slum clearance; the actual need is to go further, to study the causes of decay and suggest a remedy. Planning, say the authors, is a means of accommodating change while solving or ameliorating the attendant problems. But how are we to reverse a trend? If planning is defined as "co-operation with the inevitable" then the intelligent policy here is total evacuation followed by a quick clearance, using a "clean hydrogen bomb".

Remedies and Comments

With these thoughts in mind, the authors point out that there is enough potential population growth and retail trading in the market area to justify the future of the city. They suggest several remedies:

- (a) the need for a general development plan and a coherent related policy framework;
- (b) improvements in the standard of civic 'housekeeping';
- (c) setting up an adequate financial program to ensure practical implementation of the general plan;
- (d) several major project areas and a list of priorities for attention.

These remedies, and the thoughtful sections dealing with essential background information, problems related to major city functions, and the approach to the general development plan, are excellent advice. As usual, they depend on the agreement of the patient. The authors recognise this, stressing the need for local initiative if anything is to be accomplished. But the critic must observe that Thomas Adams and Campbell Merrett said the same sort of thing; and Saint John is still decaying.

Contrasting Economies

Most of our large cities are in areas of an expanding economy. Saint John is not, and its problems are correspondingly more difficult. Nothing happens, except that conditions

get worse as the city falls to bits; nothing will happen, unless positive action is taken—except that conditions will worsen. The answer is that we must find the forces tearing this city apart, set them in the desired direction and then we will see more clearly how to change our central areas, and when to do so. Cities are organisms, set up by countrysides to do a series of jobs. If the city is dying then the tasks are not being done well or the jobs have changed. To rejuvenate the basic functions of Saint John, what must we do? The study suggests tourism as one industry, and the expansion of population in the market area is another hopeful sign. But how long can the citizens live by taking in each other's washing?

Do we need, instead, to increase the average regional farm income; or do we need an atomic power station; should new functions be established by say Provincial or Federal action; is there a need for a planned industrial area to make serviced land and buildings available to industries unable to locate otherwise; is there any special resource in the hinterland which could, if suitably developed, lead to changes in the City itself? These are only a few questions, probably illfounded. But if a city is worth saving, we need ideas on how to save it. No new industries have been established in Saint John for many years: how is this to be reversed? In a declining economy or a static area these questions are of prime importance, for only deliberate policies designed to change the course of events in a wide area (the report mentions the immediate sphere of influence of the City being about fifty miles in radius from the centre) can give the plans life.

The projects which are shown in the book are particularly interesting. Following the system of the Toronto report, they are in the nature of exercises, to show what can and must be done, and what benefits result from comprehensive layout. It is heartening to see the way in which this study refuses to discuss the merits of a particular site or project until a schematic set of proposals for the surrounding planning area has been worked out; and in the same way refuses to study any such area until general outlines for the whole municipality have been studied. Redevelopment machinery can be used to obliterate a bad use in the interests of a surrounding area; to provide an essential facility lacking in a district; or to start a chain reaction. In a town like Saint John the main need is to pick out the most significant points at which to start. Faced with an immense task of reconstruction, it is necessary to conserve all energies for an attack on the key points. If the chain reaction does not begin, the effort has largely been wasted. Perhaps the three projects illustrated are just such key points. (In the same way, the emphasis on the need for a housing court, an overall co-ordinating agency, and the need for selective elimination of bad blight . . . are probably key policy decisions). The scheme for the Market Slip area suggests that this should be done first to give the citizens proof that their city can survive and can be a fine place to live in. Then the salvage might begin elsewhere.

First Things First

The study is right to insist on an overall plan; and equally right to suggest an order of priority for projects. Some must be accomplished soon, and even in the present crude form of the overall plan it is probable that they are correct. It

is good to see a financial analysis in the report (prepared by The Citizens Research Institute of Canada); for this makes sober reading.

Perhaps now an additional study is needed, to study the basic functions, and how new life can be induced in this old city. The study should embrace the metropolitan region and should suggest positive measures for strengthening the economic base, inducing new industry; and it might well criticize the regional or national housekeeping which has contributed to this sad decline.

Measures are needed for interim control over development and changes in land use. A workable general plan will take some time to adopt; and in the days of planning without a plan some day-to-day control is needed, using the Urban Renewal Study as a guide. But this is a general difficulty found in most of our cities.

We are beginning to put first things first. This document will help many people transfer their allegiance from the Ivory Tower to the Outlook Tower. From that eminence, perhaps they will (in company with the planners) see clearly enough and feel strongly enough to change the fate of Canada's great Loyalist stronghold.

NORMAN PEARSON

HAMILTON,
ONTARIO.

The Sad Fate of John Drone

The Crack in the Picture Window, by John Keats. Thomas Allen Limited, Toronto. 1957. \$3.75.

"For literally nothing down—other than a simple two per cent and a promise to pay, and pay, and pay until the end of your life—you too, like a man I'm going to call John Drone, can find a box of your own in one of the fresh-air slums we're building around the edges of America's cities."

So starts one of the most readable satires which has yet been published on any aspect of architecture and housing. It is an attack, mainly in the form of a novel, on the "origins, delights and despairs" of subdivision developments in the sprawling peripheries of cities in the United States. The Canadian reader will soon realise that the physical attributes and social attitudes of Rolling Knolls and Merryland Dell are not only indigenous to the United States, but have been known to occur in this country.

Mr. Keats bitterly exposes the practices of some of the less scrupulous builders and speculators and attacks many aspects of mortgage financing. The author is not content to agree with the cult of home-ownership but sets out a vigorous case for rental accommodation. The book is written with a discerning wit and many of its points are sharply endorsed by the sketches of Mr. Don Kindler.

Humour has not always been a prime factor in writing about the building professions, and this book joins the select band of those who have not only had something to say but have said it with sparkle and zest. I would put Mr. Keats' book on the shelf with H. B. Creswell's examination of the involved affairs of Honeywood, and the inspirations of Osbert Lancaster, for it is a book to be both read and enjoyed.

STANLEY H. PICKETT

OTTAWA

A few of the
PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FROM CPAC

Community Planning Review/Revue canadienne d'urbanisme. 50 cents per copy for quarterly issues, 1955 to date, including the special issues on "Landscaping and Community Planning" and "Quebec". The 118-page Volume IV, 1954, is \$1.00. A few copies of the "Green Belt" issue of October 1953 (vol. III, no. 2) are still available (\$.50).

Urban Renewal. A Study of the City of Toronto, 1956. Short Statement. A short version of the first Urban Renewal Report on a Canadian city. 50 cents a copy; discounts are available for quantities.

How to Subdivide. A 40-page handbook in four colours on the layout of housing developments, giving a step-by-step method of subdivision, and discussing financial implications. 37 diagrams and plates. \$1.00.

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Mental Health Aspects of Urbanization. Report of a Panel Discussion at the United Nations, March, 1957. Published by World Federation for Mental Health. \$1.00.

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